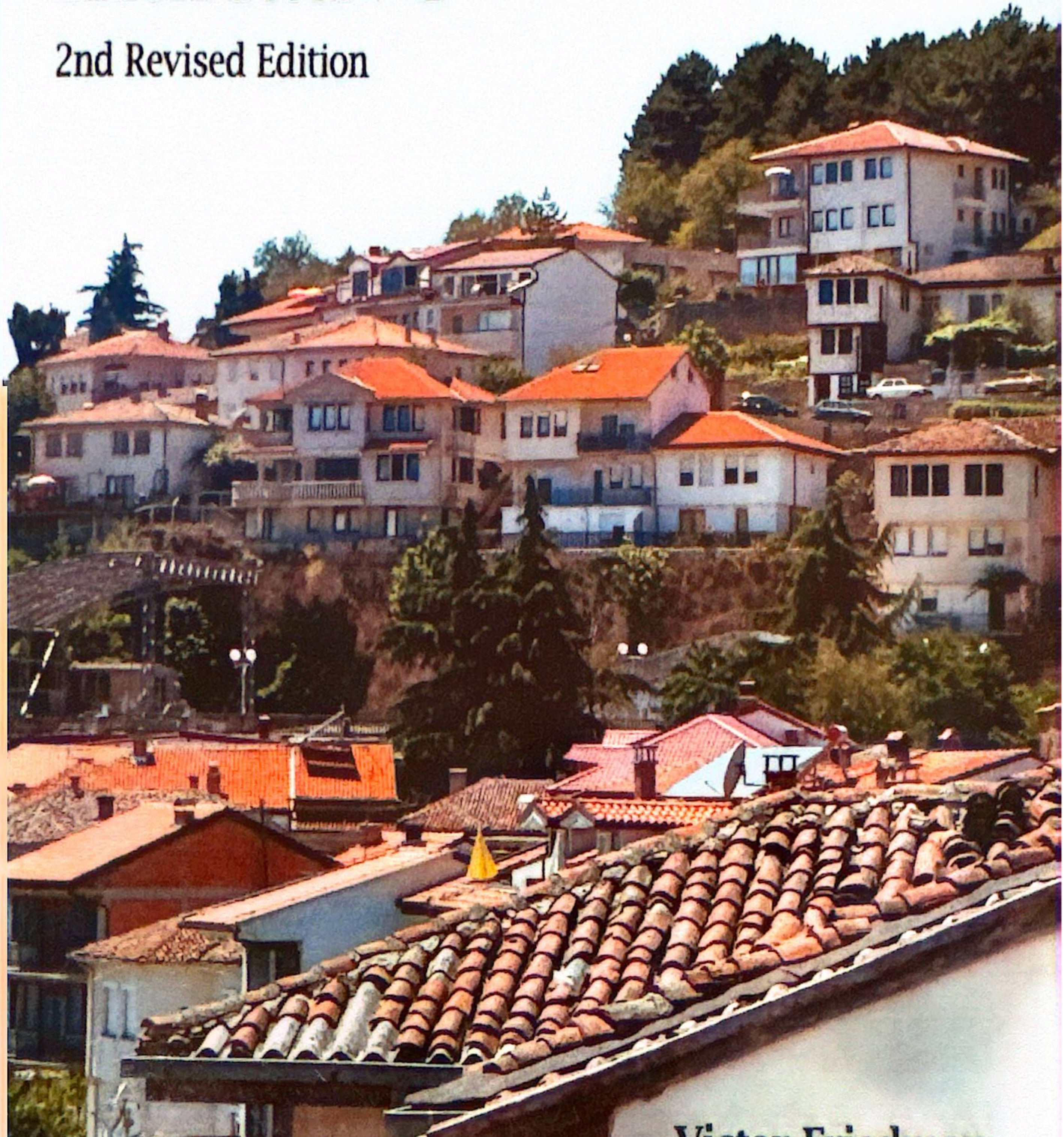
Grammatical Categories of the Macedonian Indicative

2nd Revised Edition



Victor Friedman

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GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES OF THE MACEDONIAN INDICATIVE

2ND REVISED EDITION

VICTOR FRIEDMAN

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To the memory of my father Norman Benjamin Friedman and
my grandmother Sarah Josifovna Milyavskaya Friedman.

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Preface to the Second Edition

The field work on which this book is based was conducted in between 1971 and 1975, at a time when the Macedonian standard language (or *literary Macedonian* as it was known in those days) was old enough to have a generation of adult native speakers educated in its usage, but it was also young enough to have the men and women whose native dialects and intuitions were the basis of its codification at the height of their own careers as scholars. I was thus in the rare and fortunate position to be able to have access to both these groups as consultants. Moreover, both groups included both trained linguists and educated non-linguists. The book is thus a document of that state of Standard Macedonian according to both its codifiers and its everyday speakers at the time when the first generation educated entirely in the standard language had attained adulthood. I also had access to consultants who were children in Macedonia when Macedonian was a forbidden "dialect" and who were subsequently free to speak their native language. (On the history of the codification of Macedonian, see Friedman 1985, 1993a, 1998a, 2000a; see also Kōstopoulos 2000 on the fate of Macedonian in Greece and Rossos 2008 for a general history of Macedonia.)

As a result of the fortuitous circumstances of the time when I did my initial field work, this book represents research that cannot be replicated today. The codifiers have almost all passed away, and even many of the first generation that they educated have already succumbed to the inevitable passage of time. However, as fate would have it, I found myself again in Skopje doing field work 35 years after the research that was the basis of this book. Although the focus of that research was multilingualism in Macedonia, especially Skopje, it was inevitable that I should have occasion to check on the changes that had or had not occurred in Standard Macedonian. I was in a position to consult with the children of some of my original consultants, now grown to adulthood, as well as their children, who were themselves teenagers or even young adults. Moreover, thanks to the efforts of one of my original consultants, Vera Stojčevska-Antiḱ this book was translated into Macedonian for the first time in 2009. The process of translation was a consultation between myself and two educated native speakers of the youngest adult generation. It was in this process that I began to undertake a revision and updating of the text. At the same time, I had the opportunity to consult with my translators and others who were unborn or only small children at the time of my initial field work as to whether they agreed with the judgments of their predecessors or not, the point being that the translation could also be revised.

While I found it gratifying to discover that I still agreed with myself after 35 years, even more gratifying was to learn that both my analyses and my predictions had been born out by the passage of time and the judgments of younger speakers. I should emphasize here that my relationship with my translators was such that if they disagreed, they were free to say so since I was not the one paying them for their work, and I made it clear that their own perceptions were as important to me as the accurate translation of my words. The result of this fortunate circumstance has been that the data and judgments of the first edition published more than thirty years ago are still valid.

With regard to the theoretical framework, I have retained the basic Jakobsonian approach to meaning and markedness that was the basis of the first edition (but now see especially Andrews 1990). For readers interested in how language works, such an approach has the advantage of capturing generalizations about a language's grammar in a manner that is both enlightening and accessible to a broad audience. I should also note that James D. McCawley (personal communication) agreed that for the questions about language being asked here, the theoretical apparatus I have chosen was most suitable.[1]

Then there is the matter of more than thirty years of subsequent research. This question relates particularly to chapter 6, which, as it turned out, mapped out several paths of study that I would pursue in subsequent decades. Integrating that material would require the writing of another book as long as this one, and so I have instead provided references to my subsequent publications when relevant. Moreover, a complete bibliography of relevant publications would be yet another book unto itself, and so I have limited myself to references to selected publications of other authors whose work enters directly into conversation with the themes discussed in this book.[2] Finally, at the time the first edition was written, Serbo-Croatian was still one language, and thus the material used in this book relates to that period. It will certainly be interesting to see how the standards that have emerged from the former Serbo-Croatian will treat these same issues, but for our purposes here, what we present can serve as a baseline for the development of future research on these questions.

---

[1] Here I would argue against the 2009 assertion of the chair of the Linguistics Department at the University of Chicago, that the work of N. Chomsky "created the field of modern linguistics." A structuralist approach to language is hardly "pre-modern," much less "pre-theoretical," although it may well be unfashionable in some circles.

[2] I can note especially that evidentiality is, as of this writing, a "hot topic." See now Aikhenvald 2011 for references.

Additional Acknowledgments

The first edition of this work, published by Slavica Publishers, Columbus, OH, in 1977, was the first book devoted to Modern Macedonian published in the United States. I am indebted to Prof. Charles Gribble and Prof. Robert Rothstein, who evaluated that manuscript and provided valuable feedback. Professor Liljana Minova-Ǵurkova was "one of my best Prilep consultants" referred to in chapter 5. She is now among those who have passed away, and her untimely loss is deeply mourned.

Since the time of the first edition, numerous organizations have supported my research. A compete list can be found at http://home.uchicago.edu/~vfriedm/cv.html. I am especially indebted to the following organizations, whose support had the most direct impact on the subsequent revisions in this edition: fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities (1979, 2001), the American Council of Learned Societies (1986, 2000–1, 2011–12), the Research Center for Linguistic Typology (now the Center for Research on Language Diversity) of La Trobe University (2004), the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation (2008–9), and the Fulbright-Hays Program of the U.S. Department of Education (2008–9). I also wish to thank the Research Center for Areal Linguistics of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences and its Director, Acad. Zuzana Topolińska, who provided me with affiliation and support during my 2008–9 residency in Skopje.

I wish to thank Meredith Clason of the University of Chicago's Center for East European and Russian/Eurasian Studies for vital logistical support and Owen Kohl and Andrew Dombrowski for preparing the manuscript of this second edition for publication. I would also like to thank all the folks at Slavica who were so supportive in helping this second edition see the light of day. Special thanks to Rosemarie Connolly not only for producing the final copy but also for catching material in both English and Macedonian that needed correction.

Finally I wish to thank all of my friends, colleagues, and acquaintances in the Republic of Macedonia, without whom this work would never have been completed. They are too many to name here, but I am especially indebted to Prof. Marjan Markoviḱ of Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje and the Research Center for Areal Linguistics of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences for his particularly significant contributions.

None of the aforementioned persons and organizations is responsible for any of the opinions/errors in the book.

Acknowledgments to the First Edition

A list of all the individuals I wish to thank would require several pages, and I am therefore constrained to confine myself, for the most part, to a list of organizations. Their members know who they are, and I thank each of them.

For financial support during various stages of this work, I wish to thank the University of Chicago, the American Council of Learned Societies, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Russian and East European Center, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the U.S. Office of Education, the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the Secretariat of Information of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and the University of North Carolina Research Council.

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I am particularly indebted to the members of my dissertation committee, Zbigniew Gołąb, Howard I. Aronson, Bill J. Darden, and Kostas Kazazis, and to my *mentori* in Maceconia, Blaže Koneski and Božo Vidoeski, for their immeasurable help in the writing of the dissertation on which this work is based.

I also wish to thank my parents, Norman and Lorraine Friedman, for more than can be enumerated here.

Finally, I would like to thank Mrs. Eleanor Sapp, the typist, for an excellent job on the difficult manuscript of the first edition.

Preface to the First Edition

The topic of this work is an analysis of the grammatical categories of the Macedonian indicative by means of semantic definitions of these categories and descriptions of their syntactic properties. Both structuralist and generativist linguistic theories are used in the achievement of this goal. This work represents the first attempt of its kind at a detailed analysis of the Macedonian indicative system.

The first chapter gives an outline of Macedonian verbal morphology and limits the nature of the categories to be discussed. The Macedonian indicative is composed of four groups of paradigmatic sets called *series*. Each series is made up of two or three paradigmatic sets called *tense forms*. There are four series: (i) the simplex series, composed of the present, the imperfect, and the aorist, (ii) the *sum* series, consisting of the l-imperfect and the *l*-aorist, (iii) the *beše* series, containing the *beše* imperfect and the *beše* aorist, and (iv) the *ima* series, comprising the *ima* perfect, the *imaše* perfect, and the *imal* perfect.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the simplex series. The present is shown to be the least marked tense form. All other tense forms are marked for past tense. The imperfect's marking for durative aspect distinguishes it from the aorist in the simplex, *sum*, and *beše* series. The two simplex pasts together are distinguished from the *sum* series by being marked for confirmative status.

In chapter 3, the *sum* series is shown to be the unmarked past, since no basic meaning can account for all of its uses. The reported variant meaning of the *sum* series is shown to result from the opposition of that series to the marked pasts of the simplex series and from a kind of tense agreement, while its dubitative and admirative meanings are shown to be special varieties of reportedness.

Chapter 4 discusses the *ima* perfect. All resultative forms are redundantly marked for past tense because they must refer to the results of a past act. They are differentiated from each other by the fact that the results to which they refer may or may not be past. The *ima* perfect is marked for statal resultativity but unmarked for past reference.

The various pluperfects are discussed in chapter 5. The *imaše* and *imal* perfects are marked for past reference and statal resultativity, while the *beše* series is marked for anterior taxis. The *imaše* perfect is positively marked for confirmative status, while the *imal* perfect is negatively marked for it. The *imaše* perfect is used for witnessed results and the *imal* perfect for reported. The *beše* series, which does not enter into any status opposition, describes a past event anterior to some other past event. The *imaše* perfect refers to the past resultant state of an anterior past act, and the *imal* perfect refers to a report (ontologically past) of an anterior past act. Thus the *imaše* perfect, the *imal* perfect, and the *beše* series all have double time reference and are types of pluperfects.

The concluding (sixth) chapter summarizes the system developed in the preceding chapters and reiterates the most important points. The chapter ends with a comparison of the literary Macedonian indicative to those of literary Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian and a brief review of the verbal systems of some Balkan Slavic dialects and other languages of the Balkans.

The appendix contains approximately three hundred additional examples of sentences illustrative of the various theoretical points made in this work. It thereby provides a sizable corpus of data for the further investigation of Macedonian linguistic problems.

Chapter 1 Introductory Remarks

The Macedonian verb constitutes one of the most complicated but least studied systems in the Slavic linguistic world. The goal of this book is an elucidation of this system by means of semantic definitions of the grammatical categories of the literary Macedonian indicative and a description of their syntactic properties. The resources of both structural and generative linguistics will be called upon in achieving this goal. This first chapter will supply the basic theoretical orientation and a practical description of the morphology of the verb. The first task, however, will be a definition of the type of Macedonian serving as the basis of this study.

Throughout this work, Macedonian should be understood to mean the modern Macedonian literary language. The terms modern or literary will be used to modify Macedonian only when it is wished to imply "as opposed to dialectal or pre-1944 Macedonian." For the purposes of this book, Macedonian will be defined as the official language of the Republic of Macedonia as codified in the grammar of Blaže Koneski (1967) and the three-volume dictionary edited by him (1961–66), as published in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia since August 2, 1944, or as spoken by people whose mother tongue is Macedonian and who have had at least one year of a college education. The problems raised by dialectal differentiation will be treated as they arise in the course of the succeeding chapters. The system of transliteration will be the official one employed in Macedonia.

The grammatical categories of the verb are those parts of its meaning which are conveyed by means of grammatical processes, e.g., changes in form, which do not affect lexical meaning. The present work will deal only with inflectional categories of the indicative mood. Every Macedonian verb is marked for voice and the aspectual opposition perfective/imperfective. Since the marking for these categories does not change during conjugation, they will not be of concern to this work, but a very brief discussion of the category of perfectivity is called for. For the sake of clarity and simplicity, the traditional approach to this category, as represented by Koneski (1967: 370), Lunt (1952: 67), Forsyth (1970: 8), and Jakobson (1932: 76), will be adopted. Perfective aspect denotes the accomplishment of an action, or it can denote a series of actions viewed as a whole. The perfective verb directs the listener's attention to the completion of the act. Imperfective verbs focus upon the action itself without specifying its completion, and so they may frequently be durative or iterative. Thus, perfective verbs describe the action as a fulfillment (*izvršenost*), while imperfective verbs describe it as a process (*proces*). While this theory of the category of perfectivity may have its difficulties, these will in no way impede the analysis of the categories of the Macedonian indicative. Within the categories of the indicative, there is another aspectual system operating: that which distinguishes the aorist from the imperfect. While the interaction of these two types of aspect would affect any analysis of the total Macedonian verbal system, the problems raised by such interaction do not penetrate to the level of analysis at which this work will be conducted.

On the basis of Gołąb (1964a: 1) and Aronson (1977: 14) in his modification of Jakobson (1957: 4), mood can be defined as the ontological qualification of the narrated event. Any modal form which is marked as not denoting a real process is nonindicative, and it is the indicative mood which defines the limits of the subject of this investigation. The grammatical categories of the indicative can be divided into two groups: those which vary between tense forms, i.e., tense, aspect, status, and taxis; and those which vary within a given tense form, i.e., person, number, and gender. The term tense is frequently used with two meanings: (i) a grammatical category indicating the relationship of the narrated event to the speech event, and (ii) a paradigmatic set conjugated according to person and number. In this work, tense will be used only in the first meaning. A paradigmatic set will be referred to as a tense form, and a group of two or three closely related tense forms, set off from all others by some special feature, will be called a series. The paradigmatic categories of the Macedonian indicative are the same for all tense forms and are of no concern to this work. Definitions can be found in Jakobson 1957 (4) and Lunt 1952 (66). It is the five categories which vary between tense forms and their definitions, interactions, and effects which will constitute the subject matter of this work: Tense, Aspect, Taxis, Status, and Resultativity.

While much of the nature of these categories will have to be determined during the course of the later chapters, a certain amount of introductory material can be presented at this point. Tense as it will be used in this work has already been defined above. In Macedonian, the narrated event is either specified as occurring before the speech event (past), or it is not so specified (nonpast). The simplex nonpast will be referred to by the traditional term present in this work. Aspect has been defined by Jakobson (1957: 5) as a category which quantifies the narrated event. Mention has already been made of Macedonian's aspectual oppositions, and the aorist/imperfect type will be treated in the next chapter. Taxis is the category which defines the relationship of two narrated events. A narrated event marked for taxis is one which is specified as being anterior to another narrated event. This work will accept Aronson's (1977: 14) redefinition of Jakobson's (1954: 4) term status, i.e., that it is a category specifying the relationship of the speaker to the narrated event. In Macedonian, the speaker can vouch for the narrated event by using a tense form of marked status, or s/he can avoid such confirmation by using a tense form not marked for status. In Bulgarian, the additional category evidential, describing the relationship of the narrated event and a narrated speech event to the actual speech event, is considered necessary. This is not the case in Macedonian, however, as will become clear later in this work (chapter 3).[1]

This is all that will be said at this time about the theoretical approach to be taken in analyzing the Macedonian indicative. It is assumed, on the basis of Jakobson's theory (1936: 240–42), that each tense form has a basic meaning and contextual variants and that the semantics of the tense forms are expressed structurally by positive and negative markings for the syntagmatic categories. The syntactic behavior of the tense forms is influenced by the syntagmatic grammatical categories expressed by them. The further development and modification of this theoretical framework will be accomplished during the course of the subsequent chapters, but first a basic understanding of the formal expression of these categories must be assured.

The following brief exposition on the morphology of the Macedonian verb is taken from Lunt 1952 (66–104), Usikova 1967 (35–79), Koneski 1967 (354–506), Kepeski 1972 (88–101), and Elson 1977.[2]

Table 1. The Endings of the Macedonian Simplex Series

	Present	**Imperfect**	**Aorist**	***Sum***
1s	-am	-v	-v	sum
2s	-š	-še	-#	si
3s	-#	-še	-#	e
1p	-me	-vme	-vme	sme
2p	-te	-vte	-vte	ste
3p	-at	-a	-a	se

---

[1] See now Aronson 1991 and Friedman 2002a in the supplementary bibliography.

[2] Now see also Friedman 2002b in the supplementary bibliography.

Table 1, which is based on Lunt 1952 (73–74), gives the endings for the simplex present, imperfect, and aorist and the conjugation of the verb *sum* 'be' in the present.[3]

According to Lunt (1952: 73), the third person singular present is the basic form of the verb, i.e., the form which furnishes the most information. He calls the final vowel of the basic form the stem vowel. Table 2, which is based on Usikova 1967, gives the third person singular present and all the singular persons of the imperfect and aorist of one verb belonging to each of the main morphological classes into which she divides the Macedonian verb.

To conjugate a verb in the present, the endings of Table 1 are affixed to the basic form, with the following two notes according to Lunt (1952: 73): (i) all stem vowels truncate before the first person singular ending *-am*, and (ii) the stem vowels *-i-* and *-e-* truncate before the third person singular ending *-at.*[4] To conjugate the imperfect, the endings of the imperfect are added to the basic form, with the following note according to Lunt (1952: 73): the stem vowel *-i-* is replaced by *-e-* before these endings. The imperfect stem of *sum* is *be-*:

Table 2. The Main Morphological Classes of the Macedonian Verb

3s present	gleda	nosi	vrvi	broi	piše	plače
1s imperfect	gledav	nosev	vrvev	broev	pišev	plačev
23s imperfect	gledaše	noseše	vrveše	broeše	pišeše	plačeše
1s aorist	gledav	nosiv	vrvev	brojav	pišav	plakav
23s aorist	gleda	nosi	vrve	broja	piša	plače
	'look'	'carry'	'walk'	'count'	'write'	'weep'
3s present	bere	umre	trese	plete	reče	pie
1s imperfect	berev	umrev	tresev	pletev	rečev	piev
23s imperfect	bereše	umreše	treseše	pleteše	rečeše	pieše
1s aorist	brav	umrev	tresov	pletov	rekov	piv
23s aorist	bra	umre	trese	plete	reče	pi
	'gather'	'die'	'shake'	'weave'	'say'	'drink'

---

[3] In Table 1 and elsewhere in this work, *s* means "singular," *p* "plural," and *1, 2,* and *3* "first, second, and third persons."

[4] It should be noted that the 1s present of *znae* 'know' is *znam*. Also, the negative of *ima* 'have' is *nema*.

The aorist is more complicated. Verbs with the stem vowel *-a-* are all conjugated like *gleda* 'see'. Verbs with the stem vowel *-i-* are usually conjugated like *nosi* 'carry'. The following verbs are conjugated like *vrvi* 'pass', although there is a tendency to make these verbs conform to the pattern of *nosi*. This is especially true of those verbs marked with an asterisk:

(s)kipi	'boil (over)'	**trpi*	'bear'
(za)smrdi	'stink'	**nadoli(podoli)*	'overcome'
(za)boli	'hurt'	**(po)sviri*	'play'
(do)vrvi	'pass'	*(za)vrti*	'turn'
nababri	'swell'	*(za)trepeti*	'shudder'
premali	'shrink'	*(iz)vadi*	'pull (out)'
omatuvi	'become senile'	*(z)grgoti*	'gurgle'
**(s)pišti*	'whistle'	*(za)šumi*	'rustle'
**(pre)cuti*	'bloom'	*(za)zbori*	'(begin to) speak'
**(z)grmi*	'thunder'	*(pro)mrmori*	'murmur'
**(–)odi*	'go'	*(po)želi*	'wish'

In addition to these verbs, there is a group of intransitive verbs denoting process of becoming and usually denominal or deadjectival, conjugated like *vrvi*. When these verbs are conjugated lke *nosi*, they are causative transitives, e.g.,

3s present	poludi	poludi
ls imperfect	poludev	poludev
23s imperfect	poludeše	poludeše
1s aorist	poludev	poludiv
23s aorist	polude	poludi
gloss	'go mad'	'drive mad'

The verbs in the following list belong to this group. Those marked with an asterisk have alternative forms which have a basic stem vowel *-e-* preceded by *e*, e.g., *poludi* has an alternative *poludee*. These alternatives are strictly intransitive and are conjugated like *piše* 'write'.

izbezumi	'go mad'	*ostari*	'grow old'
**obeli*	'whiten'	**pocrveni*	'redden'
obesi	'hang'	**zastari*	'begin to age'

**ogluvi*	'go deaf'	*otapi*	'get dull'
**ogoli*	'become naked'	*otrezni*	'sober up'
izgori	'burn up'	*oštrbi*	'become toothless'
ogrdi	'become ugly'	*ošuti*	'become hornless'
okrivi	'become lame'	*ošugavi*	'become mangy'
oladi	'cool off'	**ozdravi*	'get well'
**poludi*	'go mad'	**oživi*	'revive, come to'
**poulavi*	'go mad'	**onemi*	'become mute'
**opusti*	'become empty (depopulated)'	**osiroti*	'become an orphan'
zapusti	'destroy'	**pocrveni*	'redden'
osiromaši	'become poor'	**pocrni*	'blacken'
oskapi	'get expensive'	**posivi*	'become grey'
oslab	'grow weak'	**posini*	'become blue'
**oslepi*	'go blind'	**ozeleni*	'become green'
očumi	'lay waste'	**potemni*	'darken'

The verbs *vidi* 'see', *sedi* 'sit', and *posedi* 'seat' are conjugated like *plete* 'knit' in the aorist, e.g., ls *vidov,* 23s *vide.* The verbs *vadi* 'pull' is sometimes also so conjugated. Perfectives formed from *brići* 'shave' are sometimes conjugated like *reče* 'say' in the aorist, e.g., *obrikov,* 23s *obriče.*

There is a great deal of hesitation with regard to the conjugation of the verbs like *broi* 'count', all of which have *o* or a palatal preceding the stem vowel. There is a tendency to make them conform to the *nosi* type. The following list presents most of the verbs which may be conjugated like *broi*:

(za)diši	'breathe'	*(za)cvrči*	'chirp'
(pre)broi	'count'	*oboi*	'color'
zaloi	'become greasy'	*obezboi*	'become colorless'
boi se	'be afraid'	*sloi*	'grease'
goi	'fatten, grow'	*beleži*	'note'
gnoi	'fester'	*(do)bliži*	'approach'
(iz)dvoi	'separate'	*(za)drži*	'hold'
doi	'suckle'	*leži*	'lie'
(s)kroi	'cut out'	*miži*	'blink, wink'[5]
(s)poi	'water'	*'rži*	'neigh'

---

[5] By 1999 the verb had changed basic stem vowel. It is now *miže.*

(o)bespokoi	'disturb'	*teži*	'weigh'
uspokoi	'soothe'	*(za)zvuči*	'sound'
roi se	'swarm'	*(po)molči*	'be silent'
prisvoi	'usurp'	*služi*	'serve'
usvoi	'adopt'	*grači*	'caw'
stoi	'stand'	*obriči*	'shave'

Verbs with the stem vowel *-e-* ordinarily conjugate like *piše* 'write'. If the stem vowel is preceded by a vowel other than *e*, the verb is conjugated like *pie* 'drink'. The following verbs are conjugated like *bere* 'gather':

(o)dere	'flay'
(o)pere	'wash'
(po)sere	'shit'
(za)kole	'slaughter'
(po)stele	'spread'; N.B. t > ∅, e.g., *posla(v)*

The verbs *spie* 'sleep', *oddzve* 'respond', *(do)znae* 'learn', and *tkae* 'weave' have aorists of the following type:

1s	(za)spav	oddzvav	(do)znav	tkav (also *tkajav*)
23s	(za)spa	oddzva	(do)zna	tka (also *tkaja*)

The verb *suče* 'twist' is conjugated like *plače*. The verbs *laže* 'lie' and *struže* 'scrape' are also conjugated like *plače*, except that where *plače* has a *k*, *laže* and *struže* have a *g*, e.g.:

1s	lagav	strugav
23s	laga	struga

The following verbs are conjugated like *umre* 'die':

(vo)vre	'boil'	*(pro)stre*	'spread'
(za)dre	'flay'	*povte*	'want'
(na)dzre	'observe'	*otme*	'kidnap'
(za)pre	'stop'	*(so)tre*	'destroy'

The verbs *mele* 'grind' and *vrie* 'boil' have aorists as follows:

1s	mlev	vrev
23s	mle	vre

The following verbs are conjugated like *trese* 'shake', *reče* 'say', and *plete* 'knit'. It should be noted that the endings of the plural persons are added to the same stem as the ending of the first person singular.

like *trese*:

pase	'pasture'	*grize*	'gnaw'
nese	'bring'	*veze*	'embroider'

Note that *grize* and *veze* are now treated as regular (like *piše*) by younger generations.

like *reče*:

vleče	'drag'	*peče*	'bake'	*seče*	'cut'
obleče	'dress'	*tolče*	'push'	*teče*	'flow'

like *reče*, but with *g* where *reče* has *k*:

(v)leze	'enter'	*striže*	'shear'
(po)može	'help'	*molze*	'milk'

like *plete*:

vede	'lead'	*jade*	'eat'	*bode*	'prick'	*mete*	'sweep'
dade	'give'	*klade*	'put'	*čete*	'read'	*srete*	'meet'
izede	'eat up'	*krade*	'steal'	*gnete*	'press'	*raste*	'grow'
prede	'spin'						

The verb *zeme* 'take' has an aorist 1s *zedov*, 23s *zede*. The verb *ide* 'go' and its compounds, e.g., *dojde* 'come', conjugate like *plete*, but they have suppletive *l*-forms.

This completes the survey of the simplex series. All other tense forms are formed by means of a personal from of *sum* 'be' or *ima* 'have' combined with the *l*-form or the neuter form of the verbal adjective, respectively.

The so-called verbal *l*-form (*glagolska l-forma*), which is descended from the Common Slavic resultative participle, is no longer a participle. It cannot occur as an adjective, nor in any context except as part of a complex tense form. Every verb has two *l*-forms: one formed from the imperfect stem, and the other based on the aorist. To obtain the *l*-form, the *-v* of the first person singular is dropped and *-l-* is added (cf. Lunt 1952: 75). The *l*-form marks number and, in the singular, gender: *-#* for masculine, *-a* for feminine, *-o* for neuter, and *-e* for plural. In forming the aorist *l*-form, verbs conjugated like *plete*, including *zeme* but excluding *vidi* and the other verbs with a stem vowel *-i-* in the base form, drop the stem vowel and the stop preceding it, before adding *-l-*, e.g., *pletov*: *plel/pleta*; *zedov*: *zel/zela*. However, *raste* has an aorist *rastol/rasla*. Verbs conjugated like *reče* and *trese* lose the *-o-* when the *-l-* is followed by a vocalic number or gender marker, e.g., *reče*: *rekol/rekla*; *trese*: *tresol/tresla*. The verbs *ide*, *dojde*, etc., have aorist *l*-forms *išol/išla*, *došol/došla*, etc. The *l*-form of *sum* is *bil/bila*.

The verbal adjective is descended from the Common Slavic past passive particle. It can be formed from any verb, i.e., either transitive or intransitive, and is used as an adjective, e.g., *dojde* produces *dojden* as in the following example:[6]

(1) Dojdeniot čovek e važen.
'The person who has arrived [literally: the arrived person] is important.'

The verbal adjective is obtained by adding *-n-* to the appropriate stem (to be defined below), unless the stem vowel is preceded by *n* or *nj* , in which case the ending of the verbal adjective is *-t-*, e.g., *reče: rečeno* 'said'; *padne: padnato* 'fallen'. The verbal adjective is inflected for number and gender like any other adjective, but when it is used in the formation of the complex tense forms, only the neuter singular, i.e., *-no* or *-to*, is used. The stems for forming the verbal adjectives are as follows: verbs with a basic stem-vowel *-a-* retain the stem vowel, e.g., *gleda/gledano*. Verbs with the basic stem vowel *-i-* use the stem vowel of the imperfect stem, e.g., *nosi/noseno*, but verbs conjugated like *broi* may use the stem vowel of the aorist as well, e.g. *broi/broeno/brojano*. For with the basic stem vowel *-e-*, the stem vowel of the aorist is used, e.g., *piše/pišano*, except for verbs conjugated like *pie*, *reče*, *trese*, *ide* and its compounds, and *zeme*, which use the imperfect stem, e.g., *pie/pieno*, *reče/rečeno*, *trese/treseno*, *dojde/dojdeno*, and *zeme/zemeno*. Verbs with *e* immediately preceding the stem vowel along with those conjugated like *bere* may use either the stem vowel of the imperfect or that of the aorist, e.g., *živee*: *živeeno/živeano*; *bere*: *bereno/brano*. A few verbs distinguish verbal aspect by the stem vowel in the verbal adjective. In such cases, *-e-* is used for the imperfective while *-a-* is used for the perfective, e.g., *liže* 'lick': *liženo/ližano*. The following verbs are among those which behave in this manner:

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[6] All examples whose sources are not specified were provided by or checked with native consultants. Additional examples of all the Macedonian sentences crucial to the arguments of this work can be found in the appendix.

crpe	'haul'	*dreme*	'doze'
pee	'sing'	*pcue*	'curse'
niže	'string'		

This concludes the morphology of those parts of the verb necessary for forming the ten tense forms of the indicative. Table 3 constitutes a complete paradigm of a single verb, *pravi* 'do', conjugated in all ten of the tense forms.

Table 3. A Paradigm of the Macedonian Indicitive

Simplex Series					
Present		Imperfect		Aorist	
pravam	pravime	pravev	pravevme	praviv	pravivme
praviš	pravite	praveše	pravevte	pravi	pravivte
pravi	pravat	praveše	pravea	pravi	pravija

***Sum* Series**			
l-Imperfect		*l*-Aorist	
sum pravel	sme pravele	sum pravil	sme pravile
si pravel	ste pravele	si pravil	ste pravile
pravel	pravele	pravil	pravile

***Beše* Series**			
Beše Imperfect		*Beše* Aorist	
bev pravel	bevme pravele	bev pravil	bevme pravile
beše pravel	bevte pravele	beše pravil	bevte pravile
beše pravel	bea pravele	beše pravil	bea pravile

***Ima* Series**					
Ima Perfect		*Imaše* Perfect		*Imal* Perfect	
imam praveno	imame praveno	imav praveno	imavme praveno	sum imal praveno	sme imale praveno
imaš praveno	imate praveno	imaše praveno	imavte praveno	si imal praveno	ste imale praveno
ima praveno	imaat praveno	imaše praveno	imaa praveno	imal praveno	imale praveno

It may be noted that other works dealing with the Macedonian verb have presented as part of the indicative system forms which have been excluded from the paradigm of the ten tense forms shown in Table 3, and these exclusions must be justified. Lunt (1952: 99), Koneski (1967: 503), and Kepeski (1972: 92) indicate that other forms belong to the *ima* series, i.e., forms of the type *bev imal zemeno* or *beše sum imal zemeno* 'I had taken'. These forms do not actually occur in the standard language, however. The existence of such a form would be problematic, since there would be no way of distinguishing the meaning of this form from that of the *imaše* perfect, e.g., *imav zemeno* 'I had taken'. To say that this form bears the same relation to the *imal* perfect as the *imaše* perfect does to the *ima* perfect, i.e., to describe it as a *beše imal* perfect, would be inaccurate, since the *imal* perfect can act as either a perfect or a pluperfect, while the *ima* perfect cannot.[7] Such a description would also imply that the relation between the *sum* and *beše* forms of the auxiliary *ima* were not the same as those between *sum* forms and *beše* forms in general. (These relations will be discussed in chapters 3 and 5.) The problem is solved by two facts. First the form *beše sum imal zemeno,* which is the one Koneski cites, is clearly not an "*imal* pluperfect," but rather an emphatic form of the *imal* perfect. The word *beše,* when not accented, is not the second or third person simplex imperfect of *sum,* but rather a clitic emphatic particle which can be used with any person of any sum form:

(2) Áma beše-sum-bíl vo-Skópje. (cf. Lunt 1952: 97)
'But I have been in Skopje.'

Second, for the form *bev imal zemeno,* whose existence is implied by Lunt, Koneski does not cite any example from literature, and Lunt's (1952: 99) example is artificial. Koneski (personal communication) has stated that this form exists only in potential. In his grammar, Koneski attempts to show the theoretical possibilities of the verbal system; the form exists in potential, although it does not actually occur.

Another construction which has been included on occasion in the tense form system of the Macedonian indicative is that using the present, simplex imperfect, and *l*-imperfect forms of *sum* and the verbal adjective of an intransitive verb inflected to agree with the subject, e.g., *sum dojden* 'I have come', *taa beše dojdena* 'she had come' (cf. Gołąb 1970: 12–13). Koneski (1967: 458) and Lunt (1952: 100) argue that this construction is not a complex verb form but simply an adjectival phrase consisting of the verb *sum* and the verbal adjective.[8] They base this argument on the fact that *sum* can occur before or after the verbal adjective, while in the complex verb forms the auxiliary must precede the main verb. Thus both *sum dojden* and *dojden sum* are acceptable, while **dojdeno*

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[7] These terms will be defined in chapters 4 and 5.

[8] See now Elliott 2001 and Graves 2000 for additional discussion.

imam and **došol sum* are not. It is also true that this construction permits the use of the *l*-imperfect of sum, e.g., *bil dojden*, whereas the *l*-imperfect of *sum* is not used as an auxiliary in Standard Macedonian, e.g., **bil došol* is not modern literary Macedonian, although it can occur in eastern dialects. Gołąb (personal communication) has argued that *sum dojden* is differentiated from *imam dojdeno* in that the former is a "pure resultative" while the latter is "indefinite." Thus he said that the following sentence was not correct Macedonian:

(3) Jas sum tolku pati dojden tuka.
'I have come here so many times.'

Blaže Koneski (personal communication) accepted sentence (3), however, and added a similar acceptable one:

(4) Toj e mnogu pati dojden kaj nas.
'He has come to our place many times.'

Hence *sum dojden* can be indefinite as well as resultative. Evidence for the resultativity of *ima* forms will be given in chapter 4. The opposition *sum dojden/imam dojdeno* appears to be analogous to the English type *he is gone/he has gone* (*toj e otiden/toj ima otideno*). There is no real semantic difference between the two constructions, but only formal: one employs a complex verb form, the other a verb with an adjective. In spoken Macedonian, the construction is used primarily with the adjectives *dojden* 'arrived' and *otiden* 'left'. The construction is more frequent in writing, especially with verbs of motion and in the press, where it is sometimes used indiscriminately (Korubin 1951: 30–31).[9]

The only other constructions which are sometimes included as tense forms of the Macedonian indicative but which will be excluded from this work are those with the particle *ḱe*, the so-called future and future preterites. Janakiev (1962: 427) has argued that the Bulgarian future is differentiated from the present not by tense, but rather by mood. An action marked for futurity is not one which occurs after the speech event, but one which is presumed, assumed, or projected to occur after the speech event (Janakiev 1962: 428, Lunt 1952: 82). Such an act is not ontologically real and is thus, by Gołąb's definition (1964a: 1) a marked modal category rather than an indicative tense form (cf. also Kuryłowicz 1956: 26 and Lyons 1969: 304ff.).

The usual expression of futurity in Macedonian is achieved by the particle *ḱe* and the present indicative form of a verb, usually a perfective one:

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[9] See Friedman 1998c for further discussion.

(5) Dime, ḱe ti ja napolnam ustata so krv!

'Dime, I will fill your mouth with blood!'

However, the future in negative clauses is normally expressed by *nema* 'there is no' and the subjunctive (*da* with the present):[10]

(6) Se razbira, jas ne sum budala, i nema nikogaš da zaboravam koga prv pat slušnav za toa (ispušten predlog) nasilno vleguvanje i prisluškuvanje. (N. M. 11 VI 74: 5)

'Of course, I am not dumb and I will never forget when I [first] heard about this (adjective deleted) forced entry and bugging.' (W. H. 1974: 91)

The negative *ne* can be placed before *ḱe* to express this same negative futurity, but such a construction is rarely met with. When it does occur, it is more likely to have an unreal conditional modal meaning, as in the following example:[11]

(7) Da si umen, ne ḱe zboruvaš taka.

'If you were intelligent (and it seems most unlikely), you wouldn't talk like that.' (Lunt 1952: 84)

On the other hand, *ima* 'there is' can be used with the subjunctive to express futurity, or else in the sense of the modal *should*, i.e., contingency:

(8) Ruža i Lenče ima da dojdat za kafe.

'Ruža and Lenče will/should come for coffee.'

When the conjugated verb *ima* 'have' is used with the subjunctive, the sense of obligation is stronger (Lunt 1952: 83):[12]

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[10] In the course of this work, some Macedonian translations of *The White House Transcripts* (1974) will be cited as they appeared in *Nova Makedonija* (9 VI 74 to 27 VI 74). These translations sometimes differ from the originals on very minor points of vocabulary and construction which do not affect the point being illustrated in any way. Rather than burden the reader with tedious and unnecessary explanations, the originals and translations will be quoted exactly as they appeared, and irrelevant discrepancies will be ignored. *The White House Transcripts* will be abbreviated W. H., and *Nova Makedonija* will be abbreviated N. M. The references for the periodicals *Nova Makedonija, Osten,* and *Počinka* will be in the following order: day month year: page.

[11] See Kramer 1986 for detailed discussion.

[12] See Bužarovska and Mitkovska 2011 for additional discussion.

(9) Grado i Naki imaat da dojdat kaj nas.

'Grado and Naki ought to come to our place.' (cf. colloquial English *I have to go there.*)

When the futurity is in a conditional clause, then *ḱe* is not added to the modal particle of the protasis, although it may occur in the apodosis:

(10) Ako (ne) dojdeš vamu, Zoki, ḱe te tepam!

'If you (don't) come here, Zoki, I will hit you!'

But, unlike Bulgarian, the presence of a projective adverb or pronoun necessitates the presence of *ḱe* for the expression of futurity:

(11) Koga ḱe dojdeš, javi mi se.

'When you [will] come, call me.'

The particle *ḱe* can also occur with the simplex imperfect and with the *sum* and *ima* series. Gołąb (1964b and 1964a) has demonstrated that the so-called future preterite (*minato-idno vreme*), i.e., *ḱe* with the simplex imperfect, is in fact an unreal conditional:[13]

(12) Da beše tuka včera, ḱe odevme kaj Didar.

'Had you been here yesterday, we would have gone to Didar's.'

The occurrence of *ḱe* with *sum* forms is uncommon. When such constructions do occur, however, their meaning is the same as that of *ḱe* with the simplex present or imperfect, except for the presence of certain nuances inherent in the grammatical categories expressed by *sum* forms. These nuances do not affect the present argument, and will therefore be discussed in chapter 3. Constructions with *ḱe* and the *ima* forms are included by Koneski (1967: 503) and Lunt (1952: 99–100) in their paradigms of possible *ima* forms. These forms are extremely rare in Macedonian. Kiril Koneski (personal communication) states that he found not a single such form in the thousands of pages of literature which he read for his dissertation on the Macedonian future, nor has he ever heard such a construction actually used. The *ima* series with *ḱe* carry the resultative meanings of the *ima* series (see chapters 4 and 5) and the expectative modality of *ḱe* (see Kramer 1986). With an *ima* perfect the meaning is suppositional, while with the *imaše* perfect it is expectative unfulfillable (see Kramer 1986). With the *imal* perfect, the effect is a non-confirmative or reported expectative, either suppositional or unfulfillable. Examples (13a–c) are illustrative.

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[13] See now Belyavski-Frank 2003.

(13) a. Vidiš li ja ovaa rabota? Vlado i Ǵoko ḱe go imaat napraveno.

'Do you see this business? Vlado and Ǵoko must have done it.'

b. A da beše ti nekoj ubav... dosega ḱe ti imaa zakačeno nekoja pitulica. (Krle 1972: 150)

'And if you were some handsome fellow—they would have hitched you up with some cute little cookie by now!'

c. Da ne bev jas ovde i decava, ti, dosega ḱe ja imaše istiskano. (Krle 1940: 40)

'If I weren't here, and these children, you would have squeezed it out by now.'

Thus, the concept of futurity is expressed in a variety of ways in Macedonian, but always by modal particles, words, or constructions. The Macedonian future itself, therefore, is a marked modal category and thus outside the realm of a study of the indicative.[14]

This completes the formal definition of the tense forms of the Macedonian indicative, and so it is now possible to begin a semantic and syntactic analysis of their grammatical categories. It should be noted that while the Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian verbal systems have much in common with that of Macedonian, the differences are of sufficient magnitude to prevent their having more than peripheral relevance to Macedonian problems. Occasional comparisons of specific Macedonian phenomena to their Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian counterparts will be made throughout this work, and a general comparison of the indicative systems of the three languages will be made in the final chapter. The following four chapters will each be dedicated to the analysis of one of the Macedonian indicative series or tense forms established in this chapter.

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[14] See Kramer 1986, whose study on modal categories in Macedonian complements the present work.

Chapter 2 The Simplex Series

The simplex series has three tense forms: the present, the imperfect, and the aorist.

2.1. The Present

The Macedonian present is the least marked of all the tense forms. It is not marked for any of the categories that change among tense forms. The most important negative marking is for tense, and this is sufficient to distinguish the present from all the other tense forms. Since the present is not marked as being past, it is ordinarily used to denote events viewed as being in some way concurrent with the speech event:

(14) Imame tumor, rak, vo nas, vednaš do pretsedatelstvoto, koj raste.
(N. M. 15 VI 74: 5)

'We have a cancer within, close to the presidency, that is growing.'
(W. H. 1974: 134)

The present may also be used for events not assigned to any specific time, e.g., the gnomic present:

(15) Bez vreme ništo ne zree. (Cepenkov 1972: 19)

'Without time, nothing ripens.'

In addition to these uses, there exists the so-called *historical present*, in which the present, i.e., nonpast, can be used to refer to events which took place before the speech event:

(16) Suljo i Haso odat na amam.

'Suljo and Haso go to a Turkish bath.'

Example (16) can be interpreted as describing an event concurrent with the speech event, but in context it could also describe an act which took place at some time in the past. This use of the present is especially common in storytelling, where it is possible to jump from the past to the present and back again, and it is especially common to switch from the use of past tense forms to the present tense form when introducing a quotation:

(17) Se sretnaa Tome i Slave. Tome veli:
—Slave, imam trotinet. (Ivanovski 1973a: 24).

'Tome and Slave met one another. Tome says:'
'"Slave, I have a scooter."'

The present, like the *ima* series, is indifferent to the aspectual opposition which distinguishes the aorist from the imperfect, and it is thus unmarked for it. Aorist and imperfect verbs can both be transformed into the historical present. There is a tendency for both perfective aorists and imperfective imperfects to be realized as imperfective presents (cf. Mutafčiev 1964: 36), as in the following examples:

(18) a. Pajtondžiite se rastrčuvaat i mu gi predlagaat svoite uslugi, — toj im dava znak so glava deka ne saka. Negoviot znak tie go razbiraat kako potvrden i eden pajton se isprečuva pred nego. (Konstantinov 1967: 43)

'The cabbies descend on him to offer their services, and he dips his chin down [, Bulgarian style,] to signal no. They interpret his gesture as an affirmative nod, and a cab pulls up right in front of him.' (Konstantinov 2010: 48)

b. Vo taa slatkarnica odev često i mnogu arno se poznavav so kasierkata, edno ubavo veselo devojče; veselo, no se držeše dobro i ne sakaše zadevanja. I pretstavete si, gospoda, vleguvame so Baj Ganjo vo slatkarnicata, se približuvame do bifeto, devojčeto me pozdravuva veselo so dobre došol, jas ì odgovaram so nekoi obični ljubeznosti i se vraḱam da odberam nešto slatko, a vo toj moment eden protesten pisok ja zagluši celata slatkarnica. (Konstantinov 1967: 10–11)

'I often went to this pastry shop and had gotten to know the cashier quite well. She was a cute, cheerful girl, lively but proper, and she didn't allow people to take liberties. So just picture this, gentlemen: Bai Ganyo and I enter the shop, we approach

> the pastry counter, the young lady greets me cheerfully and welcomes me back, I respond with some playful pleasantries and turn to pick out a sweet, and at that moment an indignant shriek deafens the entire establishment.' (Konstantinov 2010: 21)

If these narratives were rendered in the simplex past, perfective aorists would be chosen in most cases.

The present is also unmarked for status or taxis. Status, the category distinguishing the simplex past tense forms from the sum series, is neutralized in the present:

(19) Toj go praveše toa.
'He was doing it.'

(20) Toj go pravel toa.
'He was doing it.'

(21) Toj go pravi toa.
'He is doing it.'

The distinction between (19) and (20) is one of status, and its precise nature will be elucidated in section 2.3 and chapter 3. The fact illustrated by this set of examples is the neutralization of that which distinguishes the simplex imperfect in (19) from the *l*-imperfect in (20) by the use of the so-called historical present in (21). The present is clearly not marked for taxis, i.e., it does not specify a narrated event as occurring before some other narrated event, and it can be used to substitute for a marked taxic form or this function can be performed by a nontaxic past.

One other use of the Macedonian present should be noted here, although it pertains to chapter 4 and will be discussed in detail there, viz., instances in which the Macedonian present is translated by the English perfect. This occurs when the action is conceived of as having begun in the past but still going on in the present:

(22) Tuka sum prilično dolgo.
'I have been here too long.' (Arsova 1973: 168)

(23) Eve skoro cela nedela kako sum pijan,
'I've been drunk for about a week now.' (Arsova 1973: 168)

The present has now been distinguished from all the other tense forms, and so the rest of this chapter will be devoted to the aorist and the imperfect. There are two major tasks which present themselves at this point: the identification of that feature which distinguishes the aorist from the imperfect (§2.2) and the identification of that feature common to the simplex aorist and imperfect which distinguishes them from the remaining tense forms, particularly the *sum* series (§2.3, but see also chapter 3).

2.2. Aorist Versus Imperfect Aspect

The task of distinguishing the aorist from the imperfect will be dealt with first.[1] There are two major views of the basic meaning (*Gesamtbedeutung*) of the Slavic imperfect: one is that it is marked for coordination, i.e., it is used to describe a past act developing in time within the framework of some other past act, and the other is that it is marked for duration, i.e., it is used to describe an act developing in the past without setting a time limit on its occurrence. These two ideas are closely related, as can be seen in the following example:

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[1] Demina (1960: 29) and Borodič (1968: 83) consider the aorist to be marked for wholeness (*celosnost'*) or limitedness (*ograničenost'*) of the action. Dejanova (1966: 56) believes that aorist/imperfect opposition to be equipollent: The imperfect is marked for coordinated action (*svărzano dejstvie*) and the aorist for objective pastness (*obektivna minalost*), and each is the unmarked member of the other's opposition. To say that the opposition is an equipollent one is to confuse the basic meaning (*Gesamtbedeutung*) of the marked form with the chief contextual variant (*Hauptbedeutung*) of the unmarked form (v. Jakobson 1936: 242–45). The weight of evidence against the aorist as the marked form is historical (the imperfect disappears sooner in the Slavic languages that have lost it), statistical (imperfects are less common and more restricted in their occurrence, see fn. 6 below), syntactic (the imperfect occurs in fewer types of independent clauses, e.g., (30)), and semantic (it is possible for an aorist to be durative, e.g., (33–35), but an imperfect may not be used for precise limitation, e.g., (30)). These reasons may be combined with the fact that all other authors have regarded the imperfect as the marked form. Elson (1989) considers the aorist to be morphologically marked. This marking, however, does not affect the semantic facts.

For the section on the opposition aorist/imperfect, each relevant verb will be specified as follows: perfective—P, imperfective—I, aorist—a, and imperfect—i. When necessary, Mac. and Blg. will be used to specify Macedonian and Bulgarian, respectively.

(24) Zimata se dade [Pa] zborot. Mitre imaše [Ii] furna … a Jane raboteše [Ii]…

'That winter the agreement was made. Mitre had a bakery… and Jane worked…' (Lunt 1952: 88)

The making of the agreement is the frame of reference. *Raboteše* and *imaše* are coordinated with it and are durative in relation to it. This example also illustrates Jespersen's (1965: 276) formulation that the aorist carries the narration forward while the imperfect describes events concurrent with other events (cf. Forsyth 1970: 10). The two possible basic meanings of the imperfect, simultaneity and durativity, are each supported by various scholars of all of those Slavic languages with the opposition aorist/imperfect.[2] Vondrák, Meillet (Havránek 1939: 226), and Vaillant (1948: 328) espouse the concept of duration for Old Church Slavonic, while Lunt (1968: 136) and Havránek (1939: 227) support coordination. Van Schooneveld (1959: 58) supports a form of durativity for the Old Russian imperfect. Most of the examples cited by these authors are ordinary uses of the imperfect, and could therefore be interpreted as either coordinate or durative:

(25) … ide [Ia] sъ njimь, i po njemь iděaše [Ii] narodъ mъnogъi ugnětaaxǫ [Ii] i.

'… [Jesus] went with him, and after him went a great crowd and they pressed on him.' (Lunt 1968: 136)

The coordinate interpretation is that *ide* defines the past moment with which *iděaše* and *ugnětaaxǫ* are coordinated. The durative position would be that the duration of *ide* corresponds exactly to the point of reference, while the duration of *iděaše* and *ugnětaaxǫ* is not so limited, e.g., the crowd may have continued to press after Jesus had reached his destination. Some examples, however, are more amenable to one interpretation than another, and it is on these unusual uses of the imperfect that the various arguments must ultimately rest. Havránek cites the following passage in support of his coordinationist viewpoint:

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[2] In Sorbian, both Upper and Lower, the durativity of the imperfect and the punctativity of the aorist have caused them to merge completely with the imperfective/perfective opposition. Thus aorists are formed only from perfective verbs and imperfects only from imperfectives, i.e., there is really one simplex past tense which, for historical reasons, has contrasting second and third persons singular for perfective and imperfective verbs (Ermakova 1973: 225). Hence, Sorbian is of no further interest, since its historical development has rendered it irrelevant to the Macedonian problem.

(26) I sъbiraše [Pa] sę kъ njemu farisei i edini otъ kъnjižьnikъ prišьdъše otъ Ierusalima i viděvъše ediny otъ učenikъ ego nečistama rǫkama, si rečь ne umъvenama, ědǫšte xlěby zazьrěaxǫ [Pi].
(Havránek 1939: 227–28)

'Then came together unto him the Pharisees and certain of the scribes which came from Jerusalem. And when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say, with unwashen hands, they found fault.' (Mk 7:1–2)

The Greek has an aorist *emémpsanto*. Havránek rejects the suggestion that *zazьrěaxǫ* is a mistake for the perfective aorist *zazьrěšę* or that *zazьrěti* can be used as an imperfective verb. The former objective he calls groundless (*sans raison*), while the latter is refuted by referring to copious examples of the verb's perfectivity (Havránek 1939: 228). Havránek asserts that the action of finding fault cannot be interpreted duratively or iteratively, but only as coordinated with the action of having seen. A durativist might argue, however, that by presenting the act of finding fault as an imperfect instead of as an aorist the author is stressing the indefinite multiple nature of the act, i.e., an unspecified number of people may have been envisioned as finding fault an unspecified number of times. Be that as it may, this problem can have no real bearing on Macedonian, since only an aorist, and not a perfective imperfect, could be used in translating example (26).

Van Schooneveld cites the following Old Russian example to support duration against coordination:

(27) Sego radi prorokъ glagolaše [Ii]: "Preložju prazdniky vaša v plačь…"

'Because of this the prophet spoke: "I will turn your feasts into sorrow…"' (van Schooneveld 1959: 57)

According to van Schooneveld (1959: 57), a coordinationist attempt to explain this example as a "synchronization of the process of pronouncing or prophesying (denoted by the imperfect) with the contents of the pronouncement or prophesy [*sic*]" would be artificial since a text quoted from the past is not a fact from the past. He argues that synchronization is merely a contextual variant of the imperfect, and that its basic meaning is that of a past process whose effects do not last beyond its duration (van Schooneveld 1959: 58). Since both

Havránek's and van Schooneveld's imperfects would appear only as aorists or nonindicative constructions in Macedonian, their arguments are not directly relevant to the problem of the Macedonian opposition aorist/imperfect. They have been cited in order to provide a background to the problem for modern Slavic languages.

Among Serbo-Croatian grammarians, durativists outnumber coordinationists. Among the former are Belić (1925–26: 177–78), Maretić (1963: 622), Meillet and Vaillant (1952: 173), Sladojević (1953–54: 218), and Ivić (1953–54: 259); among the latter are Vuković (1967: 244) and Stojičević (1951: 8). Stevanović lends support to both points of view: durative (Stevanović 1969: 612) and coordinate (Stevanović 1967: 116–17; 1969: 631). The controversy over Serbo-Croatian imperfective aorists is one worth examining. Since neither the aorist nor the imperfect survives in the speech of Belgrade or Zagreb, Serbo-Croatian grammarians often do not have a native feeling for their use (Meillet and Vaillant 1952: 174, 178; Stevanović 1969: 628; van Schooneveld 1959: 10). As a result, certain grammarians have denied the existence of an independent imperfective aorist in Serbo-Croatian. Thus Music (1925–26) argued that such a form is actually perfective, while Maretić (1963: 616) and Stojičević (1951: 96) claimed that it was not an aorist but an imperfect. Belić (1925–26: 173) demonstrated that the imperfective aorist is indeed imperfective, asserting that is used to denote an act occurring up to a specific moment "when it was cut off… performed but not [necessarily] completed" (*kad je presečena… vršena a ne izvršena*). Stevanović (1969: 610–11) demonstrates the independence of imperfective aorists with the following examples:

(28) Argatòvah [Ia] tri godine dana. (Stevanović 1969: 610).
'I worked/was working as a day laborer for three years.'

(29) Oni se čudiše [Ia] njegovu poslu. (Stevanović 1969: 611)
'They wondered at his work.'

The imperfect of *àrgatovati* is *àrgatovah*: hence there is a clear formal differentiation. Stevanović argues that the actions denoted by *argatòvah* and *čudiše* are not presented as completed, i.e., perfective, but merely as having taken place over a period of time in the past; i.e., they are imperfective. At the same time, he claims, they are aorists and not imperfects because they are not synchronized with some other events in their contexts, in addition to which example (28) is limited to the time span referred to by the verb, i.e., the point of reference corresponds exactly to the time span taken up by the action. The nature of imperfective aorists does not actually come into question in Macedonian since the forms are obsolete in that language, but an understanding of their position in Serbo-Croatian is helpful in analyzing Macedonian.[3] One other Serbo-Croatian feature worthy of mention is noted by Sladojević (1953–54: 218). He points out that imperfects cannot occur with adverbs denoting a strict limitation of the duration of the action, since the imperfect presents the action as a temporal line whose ends are indistinct (*vremenska linija kojoj su krajevi u magli*), rather than as a section (*isječak*) of time, as is the case with the aorist. In illustration of this Sladojević rejects the following example as ungrammatical:

(30) *Ja radjah [Ii] dva sata. (Sladojević 1953–54: 218)
'I was working during two hours.'

The English is not so much a literal translation as an attempt to render the degree of unacceptability. In English, as in Serbo-Croatian according to Sladojević (1953–54: 219), if one were to mean 'the two hours' (no formal change for Serbo-Croatian), thereby implying that the process of working was not limited by the temporal boundaries of the adverbial modifier, the sentence could be interpreted as being acceptable. Sladojević's point is that the basic meaning of the imperfect is not merely duration (*trajanje*)—since imperfective aorists can also have this quality—but unlimited duration (*neograničenost trajanja*), and coordination is a contextual variant of this type of durativity (1953–54: 219).

Since the Bulgarian system resembles the Macedonian so closely with regard to the aorist/imperfect opposition (Dejanova 1966: 63), it will be treated together with Macedonian. The common Bulgarian opinion on the meaning of their imperfect is that it denotes coordination (Andrejčin 1938: 40; 1944: 233; Stankov 1966: 127; 1969: 97; Bunina 1970: 91; Stojanov 1983: 327). However, there are non-Bulgarian linguists who espouse the theory of a durative basic meaning (Aronson 1967: 86; Maslov 1956: 2, 35; 1959: 274).[4] The authors of the two major grammars of Macedonian are split over this issue: Lunt (1952: 87) defines the imperfect as being marked for viewing the action as contemporaneous with another moment in the past, while Koneski (1967: 427) writes that the imperfect presents the action in the course of its continued accomplishment (*prodolžitelno vršenje*) without saying anything about its completion. It is generally acknowledged that the chief meaning (*Hauptbedeutung*) of the aorist is the consideration of the act as a limited whole, so it is usually formed from perfective verbs.[5] Nevertheless, imperfective aorists are still extant in Macedonian, as in Bulgarian, and while their meaning may frequently be one of iterativity, as in the first example given below, such is clearly not always the case.

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[3] See now Friedman 1993b.

[4] Beaulieux (1950: 334) does not choose between coordinative and durative approaches. Bojadžiev, Kucarov, and Penčev (1998: 395–96) treat the aorist as marked for punctativity (*ednovremennost*). Nicolova (2008: 282) treats the imperfect as a present in the past.

(31) Nejko izprazva [Ia] i napălva [Ia] disagite njakolko păti.
(Andrejčin 1938: 39 [Blg.])
'Nejko emptied and filled the saddlebags a few times.'

(32) Poveče od desetina păti toj pravi [Ia] tova. (Andrejčin 1938: 39 [Blg.])
'He did it more than ten times.'

(33) Go drža [Ia] tamo celi tri dni i tri noḱi. (Koneski 1967: 423 [Mac.])
'He kept him there for all of three days and three nights.'

(34) 'Togava se sprja [Pa] pred edna reklama za kino i dălgo gleda [Ia] snimkite na prekrasnija geroj.' (Andrejčin 1944: 229 [Blg.])
'Then he stopped before a movie advertisement and looked for a long time at the pictures of the handsome hero.'

(35) Ne babata Gudjakovka od Bitolišča ì baja [Ia];
(Koneski 1967: 424 [Mac.])
'No, Grandma Gudjakovka from Bitolišča performed an exorcism on her;'

In Example (35), the act of exorcism is not specified for completion but is being viewed as a single event which is over and done with. As it turned out, the exorcism was unsuccessful and the patient remained ill. Similarly, example (34) is not iterative; the act is presented as a single point in time which has a significant duration. As these examples show, imperfective aorists can be used for durative action. The problem which must be solved is the basic meaning of the imperfect.

As was indicated in example (24), the two competing theories—coordination and duration—actually have much in common. Thus, it should be possible to combine or compromise the two concepts in such a way that a basic meaning of the Macedonian imperfect can be found which is not vitiated by any of the examples. The durative meaning of Aronson (1967: 86), Maslov (1956: 235), and Koneski (1967: 427), i.e., the definition of the imperfect as marked for viewing the action as occupying more than one point in time appears to have the greatest potential for explaining difficult examples. It also appears that coordination can best be classed as a type of duration rather than vice versa. This is because an action conceived of as taking place at more than one point in time can easily overlap some other point at which some other action is taking place. However, there are contexts in which the action is clearly durative, but it is difficult to conceive of some other action with which it overlaps:

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[5] Macedonian perfective imperfects, unlike the Bulgarian (Maslov 1956: 237; Dejanova 1967: 78), occur only in nonindicative constructions (Lunt 1952: 87; Koneski 1967: 428–29). This meaning is similar to English clauses using *would* (cf. Aronson 1977: 25–29).

(36) Edna minuta trite momčeta mălčexa [Ii]. (Stankov 1966: 126 [Blg.])
'The lads were (being) silent for a minute.'

(37) Rabotnički igraše [Ii] prvoligaški vo Kosovska Mitrovica i ottamu se vrati so dva boda. (N. M. 20 VIII 74: 13 [Mac.])
'The "Workers" [a soccer team] played big league ball in Kosovska Mitrovica and returned from there with two points.'

(38) Gluvcite grizea [Ii] od nego, i poostri zabi od zabite na gluvcite me grizea [Ii] mene.
'The mice have gnawed at it, and sharper teeth than teeth of mice have gnawed at me.' (Arsova 1973: 166 [Mac.])

(39) Kaži kako begaše [Ii]. (Mac.)
'Tell how you eloped.'

In example (36), a definite time adverbial but no coordinate action is involved. In (37), the imperfect is not coordinated with the aorist, but is a necessary condition preceding it. In (38), too, only duration is expressed. In (39), a woman is being asked to recount the story of her elopement. It is clear that there is no coordinated event being referred to. The request is that the entire story, an event taking place over many points in time, be told, rather than that just the actual moment of elopement be described. A request for the latter would have been in the aorist. Example (36) appears to contradict Sladojević's assertion, illustrated by example (30), that the imperfect must be of unlimited duration. The following two examples show that in Macedonian the imperfect can be used for actions limited to a brief time span:

(40) Vo Bitola denes, točno vo 5, 17 časot e počuvstvuvan zemjotres od poslab intenzitet što traeše [Ii] samo edna sekunda.
(Dejanova 1966: 58 [Mac.])

'In Bitola today at exactly 5:17 a.m. an earthquake of weaker intensity lasting only one second was felt.'

(41) Zemja se treseše [Ii] edna sekunda. (Mac.)

'The earth shook for one second.'

In these two examples, it can still be said that the action is conceived of as having taken place at more than one point in time, the specified time span being made up of many points. Since the exact duration of earthquakes constitutes critical information, it is understandable that they would be presented as durative, but with a specification for time limit. Example (42) is another example of the speaker's choosing to view an action as durative:

(42) Vo odredeniot srok Prliče[v] ja dade [Pa] svojata poema na konkurs i so razbirlivo natrpenie go čekaše [Ii] rezultatot od konkursot.
(Dejanova 1966: 60 [Mac.])

'In the prescribed time Prliče[v] submitted his poem to the contest and with understandable impatience awaited/was awaiting for the result of the contest.'

In this example, *čekaše* is an imperfective imperfect. A perfective aorist, e.g., *začeka* 'began to wait', might be expected here, but the author chose the imperfect to convey an impression of durativity. In Bulgarian, an aorist would more likely have been chosen.[6]

In the following examples, imperfective imperfects are contrasted with imperfective aorists:

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[6] There is a tendency for Macedonian to use imperfects where Bulgarian would use aorists (Dejanova 1966: 58–59). On the loss of the Macedonian imperfective aorist, see now also Friedman 1993b. Although imperfective aorists still occur in some rural dialects and among some members of the oldest generation of speakers, they are basically obsolete in the modern standard language. See Friedman 1992 for comparisons of imperfect/aorist aspect choice in Bulgarian, Albanian, and Turkish.

(43) Naexme [Pa] si dve malki stai v dolen poluetaž i živjaxme [Ia] tam godini. Otgore nad našite stai živeeše [Ii] njakakva bedna žena. (Borodič 1968: 85 [Blg.])

'We rented two small rooms in a semibasement and lived there for years. Above our rooms some poor woman was living/lived.'

(44) —Tărsim Xasan Kjojli Ismail—tuk njakăde živee. —Tuk živeeše [Ii] no veče ne živee. (Maslov 1956: 236 [Blg.])

'"We are seeking Hasan Kjojli Ismail—he lives around here somewhere." "He lived around here, but he isn't living anymore."'

(45) Bega [Ia] cel den i se obdziraše [Ii] nazad da ne go privtasa čorbadžijata.

'He ran all day long, and kept looking back lest the rich man catch up with him.' (Lunt 1952: 90 [Mac.])

(46) A, ne treba, Boško, dosta pivme [Ia]. (Koneski 1967: 427 [Mac.])

'Oh, it's not necessary, Boško, we've drunk enough.'

(47) A, ne treba, Boško, dosta pievme [Ii]. (Koneski 1967: 427 [Mac.])

'Oh, it's not necessary, Boško, we've been drinking enough.'

In (43) Borodič (1968: 85) claims that the use of the aorist *živjaxme* indicates that the subject is no longer living there, while the imperfect *živeeše* means that the woman might still live there. In (44), however, an imperfect is used, although the subject is clearly no longer living there or anywhere else. The use of the imperfect focuses on Hasan's having lived there at some time in the past. In (45), the act of running is presented as a single act unspecified for completion, while the looking back is presented as taking place at more than one point in time, i.e., in this context, iterative. According to Koneski (1967: 427), the difference between (46) and (47) resides in the fact that the aorist denotes the wholeness (*zaoblenost*) of the action, its total encompassment (*celosno obgrnuvanje*), while the imperfect cannot specify such totality without some surrounding context. This follows from the imperfect's being marked for durativity and the aorist's not being so marked. The aorist's lack of marking for durativity results in its usually being used as a punctative.

One final example of the durativity of the imperfect in Macedonian appears in the following context: Two-year-old Zoki is taken to the bathroom and urinates. He is then dressed. Two minutes later he comes into the kitchen announcing *Moča! Moča!* 'Pee-pee! Pee-pee!', i.e., 'I want to urinate'. His mother, exasperated at the prospect of having to repeat the arduous process of taking him to the bathroom, attempts to discourage him by shouting:

(48) Ama sega močaše [Ii]!

'But you just peed/were peeing!'

In this example the act of urination is viewed as a process of some duration in the immediate past. Thus the opposition aorist/imperfect in Macedonian is an aspectual one in which the imperfect is the marked member, indicating that the action is viewed as a process occupying more than one point in time, i.e., durative. Having determined the quality which separates the aorist from the imperfect, it is now necessary to define that quality which unites them and opposes them to all other tense forms.

As will be seen in chapters 4 and 5, the *ima* and *beše* series have distinctive feature markings of their own which distinguish them from all the other series as well as from each other. Thus the real question lies in the differentiation of the simplex past (the aorist and imperfect viewed as a unit) from the *sum* series.

2.3. The Macedonian Simplex Past as Marked for Confirmative Status

Before considering the basic meaning of the Macedonian simplex past, a brief discussion of opinions of the meaning of the simplex past in related languages will be given. In Serbo-Croatian, the simplex past is clearly marked with respect to the so-called "perfect," i.e., the formal equivalent of Macedonian's *l*-aorist (Ivić 1953–54: 258; Kalenić 1962–63: 114–18; and van Schooneveld 1967: 2127). It was assumed that the basic meaning of the Serbo-Croatian simplex past was definiteness, i.e., that the action occurred at a specific time, until the 1930s, when it was first suggested that its basic meaning was autopsy, i.e., presentation of an event as witnessed (Samilov 1957: 99). It has been suggested that this meaning has roots going back to Old Church Slavonic (Samilov 1957: 103 and Wijk 1933). Regardless of its origins, however, the suggestion has resulted in two major viewpoints regarding the basic meaning of the Serbo-Croatian simplex past: that witnessed is primary and definite subordinated to it (Samilov 1957: 99; Sladojević 1953–54: 213), or that definite is the basic meaning (Stevanović 1957–58: 21ff.). Živković (1963: 419), van Schooneveld

(1967: 2127), and Ivić (1953–54: 259) do not choose between the two possible basic meanings.

The Bulgarian situation is similar to that of Serbo-Croatian, i.e., the choice for a basic meaning of the simplex past is between some variant of *witnessed* and some variant of *definite*, although scholars of Bulgarian generally prefer the former. Stankov (1969: 164) appears to support witnessed as the *Gesamtbedeutung* of the simplex past, although he admits the existence of usages which are not, strictly speaking, witnessed. Similarly, Christiforov (1972: 141) maintains that the primary use of the aorist is for witnessed events, and that its use to denote concrete, i.e., definite, actions is secondary. She even goes on to say that the simplex past cannot be subordinated to verbs of deduction, supposition, conclusion, etc., and that the Bulgarian "perfect" is *de rigueur* in such contexts (1972: 112, 134). Borodič (1961: 78–79) gives the basic meaning of the simplex past as concrete and witnessed, but appears to favor witnessed as the more basic meaning. Aronson (1967: 87) has demonstrated that the Bulgarian simplex past can be used for clearly nonwitnessed events which the speaker is certain have occurred:

(49) —Edna zvezda padna,—kaza Marin. —Umrja njakoj.
'"A star fell," said Marin. "Somebody died."' (Aronson 1967: 87)

On the basis of such examples, Aronson describes the basic meaning of the Bulgarian simplex past as *confirmative* with a strong implication of witnessed.

With regard to the opposition between the simplex past and the *sum* series in Macedonian, Koneski (1967: 462–67) identifies the basic meaning of the simplex past as *definite*, with *witnessed* as a contextual variant, and Korubin (1971: 14) concurs. Koneski offers the following example to illustrate his distinction:

(50) a. Jas sum rekol i pak velam; (Koneski 1967: 466)
'I have said before and again I say;'
b. Jas rekov itn. (Koneski 1967: 467)
'I said etc.'

According to Koneski, the distinction between (50a) and (50b) lies in the fact that the latter is definite, i.e., refers to a specific time in the past when the speaker said it, while the former is indefinite, i.e., does not refer to such a time and therefore implies that the speaker said it at various times in the past. One problem with this example, and a similar one given by Koneski (1967: 462), is that the context is not minimally marked. These examples are given in the first person, which, according to Jakobson (1932: 78), is the most marked person, since it can refer only to the speaker. The third person is, in Jakobson's system, minimally marked, and it is interesting to note that when Koneski's example is put in the third person, the interpretation of the basic meaning is substantially different:

(51) a. Kiril rekol i pak veli...

'Kiril has said before and says again...'

b. Kiril reče i pak veli...

'Kiril said before and says again...'

A Macedonian's first reaction to the distinction between these two sentences is that the speaker heard Kiril when he spoke for (51b) but did not for (51a). The definiteness of (51b) would be a corollary of the speaker's direct perception of the narrated event, the indefiniteness of (51a) a corollary of the speaker's 'indirect' perception. Since the use of the first person usually, although not always, entails the speaker's having directly perceived the event in question, the corollary, definiteness, i.e., the main conditioned contextual variant, assumes the major burden of the meaning. More will be said of the question of the effect of person on the choice of tense form later, but there remains one more major opinion regarding the opposition simplex past/*sum* series, which must be considered.

According to Lunt (1952: 67), it is the *sum* series, and not the simplex past, which is marked. Lunt (1952: 67) calls the feature marking the *sum* series *distanced aspect*, which he defines as indicating "that the event (action) is viewed as somewhat remote in either time or reality." He writes that this basic meaning is realized in one of two ways: either the act begun in the past has relevance for or results in the present, or the speaker disclaims responsibility for the accuracy of the statement. The simplex past, then is unmarked for the feature *distanced*. There are a number of difficulties with this analysis. First of all, within the framework of a structural grammar, the framework in which Lunt was writing, a marked category has one and only one generic, or basic, meaning (Jakobson 1936: 240). The two definitions of the term *distanced*, present relevance and speaker's disclaimer, do not appear to be reconcilable into a single whole, nor does Lunt attempt to unite them. Another problem is the fact that is unclear how an action's present relevance has the effect of distancing it in time or reality from the speaker. From the meanings of the terms involved, one would expect rather the opposite. Finally, there is the problem of counterexamples. One concrete example of the apparent failure of *distanced* to cover all the uses of a *sum* tense form will be presented here. In his grammar, one of Lunt's examples of the *distancing* effect of the *sum* form is intended to demonstrate the speaker's disclaiming volition:

(52) Ništo da ne setam, sum go skršil šišeto.
'Without noticing anything, I broke the bottle.' (Lunt 1952: 97)

However, the following sentence was also found acceptable by educated native speakers of Macedonian, and the presence of the definite past time adverb *včera vo deset saatot* 'yesterday at ten o'clock' and the intentional adverb *namerno* 'on purpose' renders the sentence unamenable to interpretation as denoting present relevance or the speaker's disclaimer of responsibility:

(53) Včera vo deset saatot jas sum go skršil šišeto namerno.
'Yesterday at ten o'clock I broke the bottle on purpose.'

One is hard put to explain the meaning of the *sum* tense form in this sentence if the *sum* series is conceived of as marked for *distanced*, or, for that matter, as marked at all. It appears that the Macedonian *sum* series has two very different functions, functions which in Bulgarian are performed by two different tense forms—the reported and the so-called "perfect" (cf. Aronson 1967: 94–97). Thus it would be virtually impossible to find a single positive *Gesamtbedeutung* with which to mark the Macedonian *sum* series. The simplex past, on the other hand, is quite amenable to a single invariant meaning, the difference between *witnessed* and *definite* having been shown to be not irreconcilable. There are other arguments and problems connected with the unmarked nature of the *sum* series, and they will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, but for the purposes of this chapter those already presented should suffice. Thus it will be considered as demonstrated that the simplex past is marked in relation to the *sum* series. It is the precise definition and delimitation of this marking which will constitute the remainder of this chapter.

Although some indication has already been given regarding the nature of the conclusions which will be reached in this chapter regarding the basic meaning of the simplex past, the method of approach will be the examination of each possible basic meaning and either its modification or elimination.

Just as *distanced* is unacceptable for the *sum* form, a reversal of marking, which might be labeled *nondistanced*, does not appear to capture the meaning of the simplex past, unless the term could be construed as meaning something like 'speaker vouches for statement'. As will be seen below, if *nondistanced* were to be interpreted in such a fashion, it would be a synonym for the basic meaning which will eventually be determined.

Just as *reported* cannot embrace all uses of the *sum* form, so *unreported* is inadequate as a basic meaning of the simplex past. A single counterexample will be offered for the moment:

(54) Pero veli deka Boris ne uspea.

'Pero says that Boris did not succeed.'

The implication is that the speaker, while presenting Pero's report of Boris' failure, is nevertheless also personally vouching for the accuracy of the statement.

The suggestion that the basic meaning of the simplex past is *definite* meets with the objection that the simplex past can occur in contexts in which the time reference is indefinite, as in the following examples:

(55) Tuka, sinko, nekogaš pred da se integrira drvnata industrija imaše golema šuma. (N. M. 6 IV 73: 2)

'Here, son, sometime before the consolidation of the lumber industry, there was a large forest.'

(56) Nikogaš ne ja upotrebivme. (N. M. 10 VI 74: 5)

'We have never used it.' (W. H. 1974: 63)

(57) Nikogaš ništo ne dobija.

'They never got anything.'

(58) —Kolkumina gajdadžii ste vo Prilep? —Samo jas sum. Porano imaše poveḱemina. (N. M. 18 III 73: 12)

'"How many of you bagpipe makers are there in Prilep?" "I'm the only one. Earlier there were many more."'

(59) Od najstarite vreminja luǵeto veruvaa deka mesečina vlijae vrz životot na zemjata. (N. M. 12 XI 72: 9)

'Since the most ancient times people (have) believed that the moon influences life on earth.'

(60) Koga go vidov Mišo vo šest saatot, toj veḱe gi kupi kartite.

'When I saw Mišo at six o'clock, he had already bought the tickets.'

(61) Drvenoto mostče koe ponekogaš se koristeše... (N. M. 27 XI 73: 7)

'The little wooden bridge which was used every once in a while...'

This leaves the basic meaning of *witnessed* and its corollaries, e.g., Aronson's *confirmative.*

The meaning *witnessed* cannot be accepted literally, for while it is possible to use the simplex past for an act directly perceived by the various senses, the simplex past can also be used for events which could not possibly have been directly perceived by the speaker:

(62) Jas po mirisot setiv deka taa vareše grav.

'I smelled that she was cooking beans.'

(63) Jas čuv kako toj ja tepaše žena si.

'I heard him beating his wife.'

(64) Vo 1605 godina, Angličanite go donesoa tutunot vo Otomanskata imperija. (Počinka 10 III 73: 14)

'In 1605, the English brought tobacco to the Ottoman Empire.'

One need not treat the argument that historical statements constitute a special category, since the simplex past is used for acts not directly perceived by the speaker, in everyday Macedonian. The following three examples, when taken in their contexts, illustrate this point.

The author was sitting in the library of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences waiting for the chief archivist to return so that he could go to the archives to work there. The librarian received a telephone call and then turned to the author, saying:

(65) Možete da dojdete vo arhivot. Tie se vratija.

'You can go to the archives. They have returned.'

Thus the simplex past was used for reporting an event, the evidence for which consisted of a phone call.

A legitimate daughter urged her mother to tell the story of how she, the mother, became a *begalka* 'runaway bride' with the following words:

(66) Kaži kako begaše.

'Tell how you eloped.'

She used this form despite the fact that she could only know of the event by hearsay.

The author told his landlady that he was going downtown to meet a friend. He returned a few hours later and told her that he had waited for two hours, but the friend had not come. An hour or so later the friend called and the landlady answered the telephone. She rebuked the caller, saying:

(67) Viktor beše vo gradot i te čekaše.

'Victor was downtown and waited for you.'

Thus she chose to present the information in the simplex past despite the fact that her only evidence was the author's report.

From the forgoing it is clear that *witnessed* will not suffice as a definition of the invariant meaning of the simplex past. In the first edition of the present book, I proposed the term *affirmative* using the argument that according to *Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms* (1951: 80) the definition of *affirm* is this: "*Affirm* implies conviction of truth and willingness to stand by one's statement because it is supported by evidence, one's experience, faith, or the like." I also noted that verb *affirm* could be opposed to the verb *assert* which, in modern linguistic terminology (cf. Sadock 1974: 135 and McCawley 1977), is the standard neutral verb of saying, i.e., it has the value of *say* or *state*.[7] I can also note now that the same dictionary differentiates *affirm* from *confirm* by noting that the latter verb is used to refer to something doubtful or not yet proved, as in *confirm a rumor* or *confirm a suspicion*. Nonetheless, in subsequent work (Friedman 1978, 1981a, etc.) I accepted Aronson's (1967) term *confirmative*. Aronson's reasoning (personal communication) was that *affirmative* could be confused with its usage as the antonym of *negative*. Thus, while the legal usage of *affirm* is closer to the meaning of the category in question (see fn. 6), the linguistic usage has favored *confirmative*. The distinction between the simplex past and the *sum* series can be said to reside in the fact that a statement made using the former is a confirmation, while the same statement made using the latter is not, i.e., it is normally merely an assertion. Thus the distinctive feature of the simplex past in opposition to the *sum* series can be said to be a positive marking for the feature *confirmative*. There are many ramifications and implications of this concept, in both structural-functionalist and formalist approaches.

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[7] As additional evidence for the difference of meaning between affirm and assert I adduced the loyalty oath required of all United States citizens employed by the University of North Carolina at that time:

(iii) I, ______________, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States; so help me God.

...

Subscribed and sworn to (or affirmed) on this _____ day of _____ 19__ (Form No. 203 Rev. 5/73).

A substitution of *affirm* and *affirmed* by *assert* and *asserted* would clearly alter the force of the document.

One important point is that the choice between a simplex past and a *sum* tense form depends on the manner in which the author wishes to present an event. This choice can be a matter of pragmatics. In Aronson's (1977: 14) terms, the category *confirmative* is one of *status*. According to Blaže Koneski (personal communication), one of the most difficult tasks for the editors of the three-volume *Istorija na makedonskiot narod* 'History of the Macedonian people' (Apostolski 1969), a composite work of many historians, was the synthesis necessary to produce some type of consistent tense form usage, since each contributor wrote in whichever style suited him (cf. example (64), which could also have used the *sum* form).[8] An article appearing in a daily newspaper bore the following headline:

(68) Indiski trupi navlegoa vo Sikim. (N. M. 7 IV 73: 5)
'Indian troops entered Sikkim.'

The first sentence of the article, however, said:

(69) ... indiski trupi navlegle rano utrinava vo Sikim,
'... Indian troops early this morning entered Sikkim,'

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[8] In the post-independence period, a Macedonian politician published a biography of Alexander the Great that produced a negative reaction among many Macedonian intellectuals who perceived his use of simplex pasts as bombastic. They felt that he had overused the simplex past in an attempt to produce a sense of linkage between himself and Alexander.

The headline used a simplex form to render the emotional impact of a confirmation, while the article itself merely conveyed the information as an assertion. Another example demonstrates tense form switching in a single sentence:

(70) Sirenite i denes dvapati se oglasile vo Kairo, no žitelite na egipetskata prestolnina nemaa nikakva pričina za zagriženost. (N. M. 16 X 73: 1)

'The sirens sounded twice again today in Cairo, but the citizens of the Egyptian capital had no cause for concern.'

Here, the first clause is the simple statement of a fact, while the second clause is an editorial comment. In this context, the use of a *sum* form to assert the sounding of the sirens is unmarked, while the use of a simplex past to confirm the citizens' security is a marked, personal assurance on the part of the writer. This is a particularly clear example of the distinction between the confirmative marking of the simplex past and the unmarked nature of the *sum* series.

It is not always the case that a first person assertion is a confirmation, however, and in cases where it is not, only a *sum* form will be used. Examples of such instances will be covered in detail in the next chapter. A single example of a contextually determined nonconfirmative will be given here:

(71) ... tolku li sum bil pijan, sum fatil edna pesna, (Koneski 1967: 478)

'... I was *so* drunk I started to sing a song,'

The speaker is recounting an action which he was told he performed but which he does not remember; therefore he chooses merely to assert rather than to confirm.

While the confirmative/assertive distinction is weakened in the marked first person, and while its use in the third person may occasionally be a matter of pragmatics, this is not always the case. As in Bulgarian, the simplex past cannot ordinarily occur in a clause subordinated to a verb in the first person whose lexical meaning is a direct contradiction of the idea of confirmation, as in the following examples:

(72) *Ne go gledam trupot; zatoa ne veruvam deka Vančo i kokoškata go izvršija zlostorstvoto.

'I don't see the corpse; therefore I don't believe that Vančo and the chicken committed the crime.'

(73) *Se somnevam deka Enver i Avni go napravija toa.
'I doubt that Enver and Avni did it.'

(74) *Se somnevam vo toa deka Cele te čekaše.
'I doubt that Cele was waiting for you.'

Nonetheless, the following sentences are acceptable:

(75) Riza ne veruva deka jas go napraviv toa.
'Riza doesn't believe that I did it.'

(76) Agim ne veruva deka Hašim i Jaja go napravija toa.
'Agim doesn't believe that Hašim and Jaja did it.'

In these last two examples, the speaker's use of the marked simplex past entails his confirmation that the deed was in fact performed, despite the fact that Riza or Agim does not believe it was done. The following example, (77), is also possible, but only as a variant of (78):

(77) Ne veruvam deka Husejn go praveše toa!
'I can't believe that Husejn did it!'

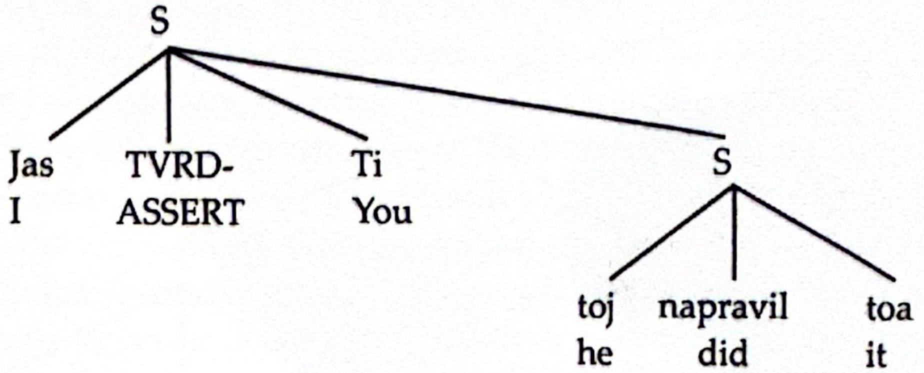
(78) Prosto ne mi se veruva deka Husejn go praveše toa!
'I simply can't believe that Husejn did it!'

Here 'believe' is not being used literally; instead there is a nonliteral use of the same type that is found in English: presented with irrefutable evidence that someone has done something and convinced that the individual in question has indeed performed the deed in question, one may yet exclaim 'I don't believe he did it!' or, more likely, 'I can't believe he did it!' Under such circumstances, the sentence is expressing surprise but not disbelief, and thus the use of 'believe' in such a context is *infelicitous*, in Austin's (1962: 14) terms, or *insincere*, in Searle's (1969: 57–64), or one can say that it does not have the *illocutionary force* of an assertion of belief.

This leads to an alternative presentation of the basic meaning of the simplex past. Austin (1962: 5) was, perhaps, the first to observe in print that there exists a class of verbs for which the utterance of the verb constitutes the performing of the act described by it, e.g., if one says 'I am running' or 'I run', one is not necessarily performing the act described by the verb, but to say 'I apologize' is to perform the act of apology. Austin called such verbs *performatives*. He called the action performed by using a performative an *illocutionary act*, and the function of such an act its *illocutionary force* (Austin 1962: 99). Performatives, then are illocutionary force indicators. Ross (1970) suggested that in a generative account of semantics and syntax, if all illocutionary acts can be reduced to a small number of illocutionary types, then it is likely that the deep structure representation of any sentence contains a simple representation of its illocutionary type. Sadock (1974) presented a particularly lucid application of this idea to a generative semantic framework, and while the theory is not without its difficulties (Sadock 1974: 50), it is in certain ways an attractive one. Both Sadock (1974) and McCawley (1977) devoted most of their energies to sentences other than simple declaratives, i.e., assertions, although they make some comments on the application of the theory of abstract performative verbs to assertions (Sadock 1974: 134–48 and McCawley 1977). It is proposed here that a declarative sentence's representation as having, at some early stage in its derivation, a higher abstract performative clause can be used to illustrate the difference between the Macedonian simplex past and the *sum* series, and that the restrictions on the occurrences of the simplex past are amenable to an interpretation in light of this theory.[9]

An ordinary declarative sentence could be represented at some stage in its derivation as having a deep structure as shown in (79) in Macedonian or English (cf. Sadock 1974: 134):[10]

(79)



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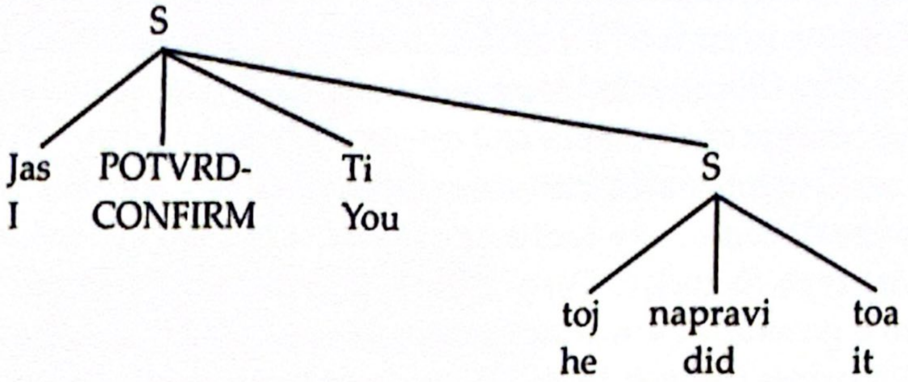
[9] So-called formalist approaches have changed considerably since 1977. Nonetheless, the generative semantic type of approach outlined here, an approach aggressively marginalized by Chomsky and his followers for reasons that were "neither intellectual nor scientific" (Lawler 2003: 619), has much to offer linguistic investigation.

[10] Since higher performative clauses are conceived of as semantic universals, language-specific questions such as the aspect of abstract performative verbs or the choice of second person pronoun are irrelevant.

The use of a simplex past, however, keeping in mind the distinction between *assert* and *confirm* given above, could be represented in (80):

(80)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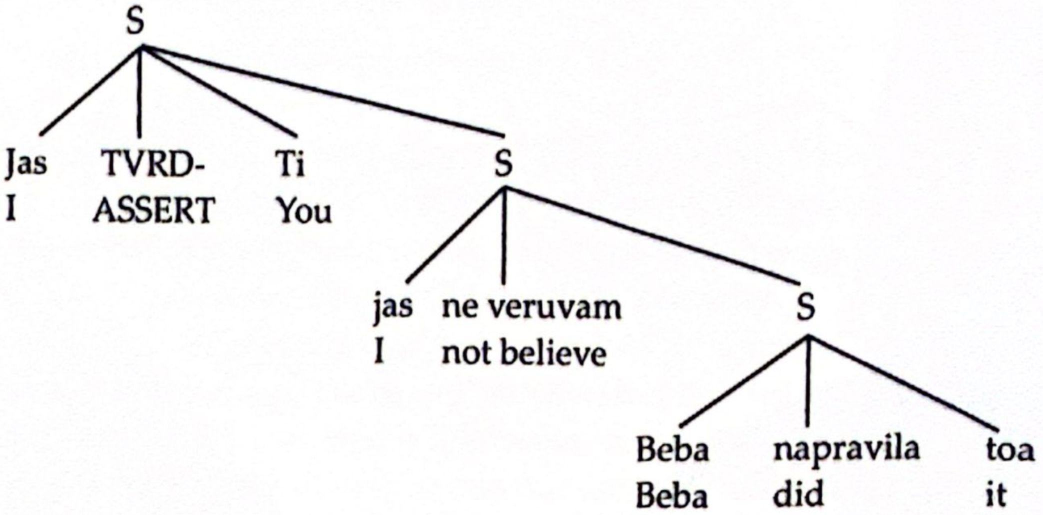
The difference between the acceptability of the following two sentences can also be explained in terms of differing deep semantic structures:

(81) Ne veruvam deka Beba go napravila toa.
'I don't believe that Beba did it.'

(82) *Ne veruvam deka Cuce go napravi toa.
'I don't believe that Cuce did it.'

Example (81) can be represented, *mutatis mutandis*, by the tree in (83):

(83)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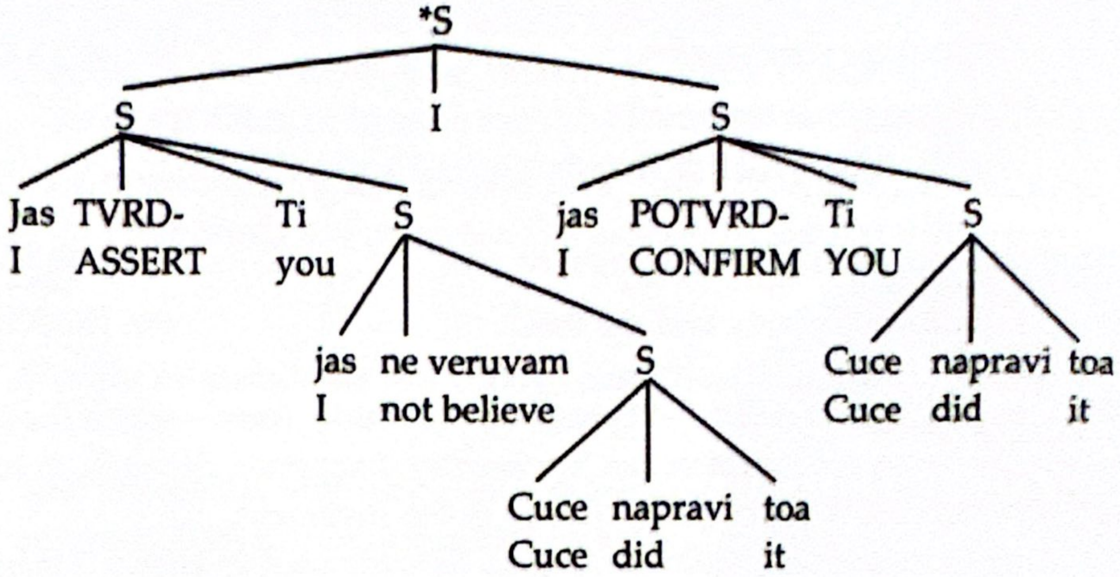
Example (82), however, since it implies the speaker's confirmation, is represented by the tree in (84) (cf. Sadock 1974: 134):

(84)



The speaker is asserting that he does not believe that Cuce did it, but he is simultaneously confirming that Cuce did it. The result is a logical contradiction, an illformed tree, and an unacceptable sentence. Thus the structural analysis of the basic meaning of the Macedonian simplex past can be represented formally by a tree structure: the simplex past has the illocutionary force of confirmation and therefore it cannot be used with verbs which deny confirmation.

While it is ungrammatical to have a confirmative tense form subordinated to a verb whose lexical meaning is anticonfirmative, it is possible to subordinate a confirmative tense form to verbs whose meanings do not appear to go well with the notion of confirmation, e.g., *mislam* 'I think', *činam* 'I suppose', *izgleda* 'it appears', etc. In this Macedonian differs from Bulgarian, which is sometimes said not to permit such subordination (Christiforov 1972: 112, 134). In most of these cases in Macedonian, there is a clear correlation between the category of person and the tense form of the subordinated verb. Thus for example, with *izgleda,* literally 'it appears' although often translatable by 'apparently', the tense form of the subordinated verb is normally simplex past for first person but *sum* form for the third person, as in examples (85) and (86). The use of a confirmative tense form in (87) is explained by the fact that the first person is directly involved in the event, albeit as an object rather than as a subject:

(85) Izgleda deka spievme premnogu. Prašav dali toa e Pariz a mi odgovorija na španski. (N. M. 17 X 72: 14)

'[on a train] It appears that we overslept. I asked if this was Paris and they answered me in Spanish.'

(86) Izgleda deka Izraelcite ne uspeale da napravat poznačaen probiv na Golanskata visoramnina. (N. M. 15 X 73: 1)

'It appears that the Israelis did not succeed in making a more significant penetration into the Golan Heights.'

(87) Mi izgleda deka toa mi go rekoa site. (N. M. 26 VI 74: 5)

'I guess everybody told me that.' (W. H. 1974: 514)

Thus the degree of certainty—expressed by the tense form—which the speaker attaches to an event which has 'apparently' happened depends on the degree to which the speaker feels involved in the statement.

A similar situation obtains in clauses subordinated to *mislam* 'I think'. In (88), the speaker is confirming her own thought, while in (89) an unmarked form is used to indicate that the speaker thinks the proposition is an unsubstantiated one. In (90), the use of a third person confirmative indicates that while the speaker may not have direct knowledge of the event expressed in the subordinated proposition, he is essentially accepting it as proven. It is interesting to note that in (90), which was originally translated from English to Macedonian, the degree of assurance expressed by *mislam* with a subordinated confirmative in Macedonian is expressed by a different lexical item, viz., 'understand', which is a factive implying 'I confirm', in the main clause in English.

(88) Mislam deka pogrešiv što ja prifativ vašata pokana. (N. M. 7 XI 73: 16)

'I think I was mistaken in accepting your invitation.'

(89) Jas mislam deka toa go napravile samite Demokrati. (N. M. 9 VI 74: 6)

'I think that the Democrats did it themselves.' (the reference is to the question of who planted a bug at the Democratic National Committee; the text is based on, but not a translation of, W. H. 1974: 58)

(90) Mislam deka Bob Vi zboruvaše deka Stens bi možele da go upotrebuvate kako žrtven konj… (N. M. 11 VI 74: 5)

'I understand that you and Bob have talked about running Stans out as a sort of stalking horse…' (W. H. 1974: 72)

The confirmative can also be used in other constructions indicating deduction. In example (91) the use of a confirmative could be said to serve the purpose of achieving a humorous effect, but in (92) through (94) it can be said only that the confirmative implies conviction of the truth of the deduction (cf. [90]):

(91) Ima li ovde pingvini? —go prašuva šoferot svojot prijatel. —Ne. Pingvini nema. —Znači, pred malku, jas zgaziv kaluǵerka. (Osten 14 X 73: 15)

'"Are there any penguins around here?" the driver asks his friend. "No. There aren't any penguins." Then I ran over a nun a little ways back.'

(92) A majka mi poradi toa beše mnogu nesreќna i duri, činam, pateše. (Čingo 1970: 25)

'And my mother was very unhappy because of that and even, I guess, suffered.' [The author is recalling childhood memories.]

(93) Mi se čini deka reagiraše zagrižno. (N. M. 25 VI 74: 5)

'It seems to me that he reacted worriedly.'

(94) Možebi takva taktika beše dobra. (N. M. 20 VI 74: 5)

'Maybe such a tactic was good.'

In the following three examples, *sum* tense forms and simple pasts occur in the same sentences. The distinctions are similar to those illustrated in examples (68) through (70), but other points are also illustrated:

(95) Otkako **navlegle** vo demokratskiot predizboren štab i **postavile** uredi za prisluškuvanje, tie očigledno **počnale** da sobiraat informacii. Informaciite **pristignuvaa** ovde, kaj Strečen i nekoi od niv mu **bile** predavani na Haldeman, vo toa nema somnenie... Strečen **znael**, vo toa nema somnenie. Strečen **beše** svesen deka dobiva informacii... Nema somnenie deka **znaev** sè što raboti FBI... (N. M. 16 VI 74: 5)

'Apparently after they **had** initially **broken in** [*sum*] and **bugged** [*sum*] the DNC they **were getting** [*sum*] information. The information **was coming** [simplex] over here to Strachan and some of it **was** [*sum*] given to Haldeman, there is no doubt about it ... Strachan **knew** [*sum*] it. There is no doubt about it ... Strachan **was** [simplex] aware of receiving information... There is no doubt that I **was** totally **aware** [simplex] of what the Bureau was doing at all times...'

(W. H. 1974: 138, 141)

(96) Znaev deka toj beše tvorec na nekoi mošne čuvstvitelni operacii dodeka raboteše za Belata kuќa, i deka gi organiziral dobro. (N. M. 15 VI 74: 5)

'I was aware of the fact that he had done some extremely sensitive things for the White House while he had been at the White House and he had apparently done them well.' (W. H. 1974: 135)

(97) Ej, ama ruček načekav doma deneska... edno lepče što našla žena mi... (Osten 9 XII 73: 4)

'Ah, but what a lunch I got at home today... a loaf of bread which my wife found...'

Although *očigledno* 'apparently' in example (95) appears in a different position in the Macedonian translation, *sum* tense forms are used for the entire sentence to achieve the same effect as the English. In the succeeding sentences in this example, all the information is vouched for by the speaker (John Dean), but when he lexically specifies that 'there is no doubt' (*nema somnenie*) about something someone else did, the translator grammatically used the unmarked assertive. When, however, Dean stresses his confirmation of something which he himself did, the translator uses both lexical and grammatical specification in Macedonian. In (96), Dean's awareness of what the other person had done is confirmed, while his knowledge of the quality of the work is presented as indirect, i.e., unconfirmed, lexically in English but grammatically in Macedonian. In English, the presence of the adverb *apparently* in the second clause carries the information, while in Macedonian it is the contrast between a simplex past tense form and a *sum* tense form—both subordinated to the main verb *znaev* 'I knew'—which supplies the distinction. Here the meaning of *organiziral* 'organized' is marked syntagmatically because of its contrast with *beše* 'was' and *raboteše* 'worked' and their subordination to *znaev*. This is a good example of how an unmarked form, here the *sum* series, can take on a marked meaning in context, in this instance that of indirect knowledge or lack of certainty. Example (97) is a typical case in which the speaker uses the confirmative simplex past when speaking of himself, i.e., in the first person, but a *sum* tense form when speaking of someone else, i.e., in the third person.[11]

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[11] If one eliminates those sentences that contain overt performatives, since the latter are always in the present tense form and therefore do not enter into the oppositions being discussed, the remaining sentences of Macedonian can be classed as either declarative or interrogative. Within each class the sentences can be subdivided into

2.4. Basic Meanings of the Simplex Series

In conclusion, the present is the least marked tense form in the Macedonian verbal system, since it can be substituted for any of the others. The most important category for which the present is unmarked is tense, since it does not specify the narrated event as occurring before the speech event, while all the other tense forms do. The remaining tense forms of the simplex series, the aorist and the imperfect, are distinguished from one another by the fact that the imperfect is marked for aspect with the feature *durative*, i.e., an imperfect form

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positive and negative. Negative declarative sentences do not present a problem. This leaves the question of the interaction of interrogation and confirmation.

In an ordinary conversation, a question is asked and the answer given in the tense form being employed during the discourse (cf. Koneski 1967: 477 and Lunt 1952: 96). Thus in the simplex past narrative of a witness, a hearer who was not present at the event is most likely to interrupt with a simplex past question (cf. Krle 1972: 51). It is not always the case, however, that questions and answers are in the same tense form:

(iv) P—Sega, po ǵavolite, kolku Čepin znael, ḱe bidam (glagolot ispušten) ako znam!
D—Čepin ništo ne znaeše za Vatergejt. (N. M. 13 VI 74: 5).

'P—Now where the hell, or how much Chapin knew, I will be (expletive deleted) if I know.
D—Chapin didn't know anything about the Watergate.' (W.H. 1974: 116).

Here Nixon's request merely asks for an assertion, but Dean responds with a confirmation. If Nixon were to have asked using a confirmative tense form, and Dean were to have replied with a *sum* form, then Dean's not replying in the same tense form as that in which the question was asked would have been markedly nonconfirmative, in view of the conversational postulates of Macedonian, and would imply that he was specifying that he was asserting Chapin's ignorance on the basis of indirect knowledge.

A question in the simplex past can be regarded as a request for definite confirmation (cf. Demina 1959):

(v) Dali Mičel lažno se kolneše pred Golemata porota?
'Did Mitchell perjure himself in the Grand Jury?'

This includes embedded questions, e.g., the following sentence:

(vi) Ne znam dali Mičel lažno se kolneše pred Golemata porota.
(N. M. 16 VI 74: 5)
'I don't know if Mitchell has perjured himself in the Grand Jury or not.'
(W. H. 1974: 139)

That is, Dean cannot confirm that Mitchell has perjured himself. The interrelationships between mood, negation, and interrogation do not raise any problems with the analysis (cf. Aronson 1977 and Kramer 1986, 1988).

specifies the narrated event as taking place at more than a single point in time, while the aorist is not so marked. The distinction between the simplex past tense forms and the *sum* series is one of *status*, i.e., the speaker's evaluation of the narrated event. The *sum* series is the unmarked member of the opposition. The basic invariant meaning of the simplex past is *confirmative*, i.e., the speaker is vouching for, convinced of, the truth of the statement. This basic meaning is clearest in the least marked, i.e., the third, person. Since the speaker is almost always assumed to be vouching for the truth of a statement made in the first person, the meaning of confirmative might seem superfluous. But in fact it is precisely the combination of the first person and confirmative meaning that enables the simplex past to occur freely after verbs of supposition and deduction, while in the third person the use of the simplex past in such positions is restricted and uncommon.

With this chapter, it is possible to begin the establishment of a distinctive feature matrix for the categories of the Macedonian indicative. Based on what has been determined thus far, the matrix given in Table 4 can be drawn.[12]

Table 4. Partial Distinctive Feature Matrix of the Simplex Series

	present	imperfect	aorist	*sum* forms
Tense: Past	–	+	+	+
Status: Confirmative	0	+	+	–
Aspect: Durative	0	+	–	

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[12] It should be noted that the present cannot be said to be marked for durativity. While this would offer a convenient parallelism, i.e., the imperfect could be viewed as the present in the past, the fact remains that the present replaces the aorist in the so-called historical present (cf. example (18)). If the present were marked for the same feature which distinguishes the imperfect from the aorist, i.e., durativity, then such substitution would not be possible. It is also the case that the use of present imperfectives as performatives, e.g., *se izvinuvam* 'I apologize', does not appear to be amenable to a durative interpretation.

Chapter 3 The *Sum* Series

3.1. *Sum* Series as Unmarked Past

As was indicated in §2.3, the *sum* series is the unmarked set of past tense forms in Macedonian. It is marked as past in opposition to the present tense form. (The complexities of this relationship will be discussed in §3.2). The aspectual opposition aorist/imperfect is the same for the *sum* series as for the simplex past tense forms (Koneski 1967: 431). Thus a simplex aorist or imperfect can always be rendered as an *l*-aorist or *l*-imperfect, since these are unmarked. There would be no change of aspect, but only of status. (As with the simplex past, the features distinguishing the *sum* series from the *ima* and *beše* series are proper to the latter and will therefore be discussed in chapters 4 and 5). It has been argued that the *l*-imperfect differs from the *l*-aorist in two respects: (i) it has only those functions performed by the so-called imperfect reported in Bulgarian, and (ii) it represents neutralization of the opposition present/past (Lunt 1952: 92). If the first contention were true, then the *l*-imperfect could not occur in the first person except in the meaning 'they say I have…'. This is not at all the case, however; examples such as the following are simply *l*-imperfects, i.e., they are unmarked for status:

(98) Sum pravel toa vo dva saatot včera.
'I was doing that at two o'clock yesterday.'

(99) Sum mislel deka si dobar čovek.
'I thought that you were a good person.'

These examples cannot be said to be marked for the category evidential. There are two arguments against the second contention, i.e., that the *l*-imperfect neutralizes the present/past opposition. One of these concerns the use of the *sum* series in reported speech and will therefore be covered in §3.2.3. The other argument is the following: Most present indicatives are imperfective. Thus, if a present tense form were to be transformed, for some reason, into a past tense form, an imperfect would most likely be chosen due to the similarity of the meanings of the categories imperfect and imperfective (cf. chapter 2, fn. 9). Hence, a present rendered as a past form will usually become an *l*-imperfect. However, the verbs in examples such as (33) and (35), cited again here, could felicitously be changed either to *l*-aorists or imperfective presents:

(33) Go drža tamo celi tri dni i tri noḱi. (Koneski 1967: 423)
'They held him there for all of three days and nights.'

(35) Ne babata Gudjakovka od Bitolišča ì baja; (Koneski 1967: 424)
'No, Grandma Gudjakovka from Bitolišča exorcised her;'

The former change would be purely one of status, while the latter would change both status and tense and, if the context remained the same, would have the effect of producing a historical present. The point is that an imperfective present can be rendered as a simplex aorist or an *l*-aorist, and so it is not always the case that a verb in the present tense form, if transformed into a *sum* series past, will be realized as an *l*-imperfect. Thus, because presents may be transformed into *l*-aorists, the *l*-imperfect cannot be said to neutralize the opposition present/past.

3.2. The *Hauptbedeutung* of the *Sum* Past

Since the *sum* series is unmarked among the past tense forms, a point which will become increasingly clear as this chapter progresses, it cannot be said to have an invariant meaning. Rather, it has a number of contextual variants, one of which is the *Hauptbedeutung*, i.e., the chief contextual variant. In the following list of examples, some of which will be made clearer in the explanation of contexts in the succeeding paragraphs, each sentence represents a counterexample to at least one of the meanings which has been suggested as the invariant meaning of the *sum* series—the proposed invariant meaning appearing above the associated examples—and should serve as a conclusive demonstration that the *sum* series is unmarked. The remainder of the chapter will be spent in exploring the function of each of the proposed invariant meanings as actual contextual variants of the *sum* series and in determining the meaning which is most likely to function as the chief contextual variant of the *sum* series. As each meaning is examined, the relationship of that variant meaning of the Macedonian *sum* series to associated concepts in other Slavic and Balkan languages will also be discussed.

Resultative

(100) Tatko mi bil mnogu meraklija za cveḱa.

'My father used to take great pleasure in flowers.'

(101) Koga sme bile mladi sme igrale pokraj rekata.

'When we were young we used to play by the river.'

Indefinite

(102) Murat IV vo 1608 godina donel zakon protiv pušenjeto. (Počinka 10 III 73: 14)

'In 1608, Murat IV made a law against smoking.'

(103) Sum stanal noḱeska vo eden, sum zel lepče, sum mu dal da jade... (Koneski 1967: 462).

'I got up at one this morning, I took some bread, I gave him something to eat...'

(104) Sum ti kažal ednaš, se seḱavaš, koga bevme zaedno na večera, i sega pak ḱe ti kažam. (Koneski 1967: 462)

'I told you once, remember, when we were together at supper, and now I'll tell you again.'

(105) Jas sum svedok deka Ljubica premnogu zboruvala.

'I am a witness (of the fact) that Ljubica talked too much.'

(106) Vidov deka/kako Antonio i Borče go napravile toa.

'I saw that/how Antonio and Borče did it.'

Nonconfirmative

(107) Znam deka Voja i Boni go napravile toa.

'I know that Voja and Boni did it.'

(108) Se kolnam deka Liljana i Milica te pričekale celi dva saati.

'I swear that Liljana and Milica waited for you for all of two hours.'

Reported

(109) Segde sum bila, sè sum videla i sè sum pravela.

'I've been everywhere, seen everything and done everything.'

(Arsova 1973: 158)

(110) Toaletot stanal ezero na nečistotija. (Počinka 6 VII 74: 17)

'The toilet has become a lake of filth.'

(111) Mislam / Siguren sum / Čini mi se deka Bube i Gaga go napravile toa vo dva saatot včera.

'I think / I'm sure / I suppose that Bube and Gaga did it at two o'clock yesterday.'

3.2.1. Resultative and Indefinite

In Old Church Slavonic, the form which can be considered to be the ancestor of the Macedonian verbal *l*-form is the past resultative participle. The ancestor of the *sum* series was the perfect, which was normally formed by the present of the verb *byti* 'to be' in all persons and the *l*-participle, which was formed only from aorist stems. According to Lunt (1968: 98), the basic meaning of this form was present result of past action. According to Kuznecov (1959: 202–3), the Old Russian perfect, which was formed in the same manner, had essentially the same basic meaning of present relevance. Van Schooneveld (1959: 121) writes that in Old Russian the perfect was marked with respect to the simplex pasts. In Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian, however, as in Macedonian, this is not the case. In Serbo-Croatian, the simplex past forms are no longer used in literary speech (see pp. 23–24), and Ivić (1953–54: 254–58) points out that the so-called perfect, while it is still formed only from the aorist stem, occurs in contexts which are clearly not resultative and which would not permit the use of a marked resultative form, e.g., with definite past time adverbs. Attempts to characterize the Serbo-Croatian "perfect" on the basis of its history, i.e., describing it as resultative (Živković 1963: 420) or indefinite (Stevanović 1967: 56–57), fail to grasp the necessary distinction between diachrony and synchrony, and obscure the fact that since the Serbo-Croatian past tense form based on the *l*-participle and the present auxiliary *biti* 'to be' is quite clearly the unmarked past, it cannot have a positively defined basic meaning, but only contextual variants. The fact that the simplex past tense forms are not usually used in Serbo-Croatian coupled with the fact that is has no *l*-participle based on the imperfect stem make it too different from Macedonian to be worthy of detailed consideration. It is interesting to note, however, that

Macedonian is closer to Serbo-Croatian than to literary Bulgarian insofar as the former two have no morphological evidential opposition within the *sum* series, while such a claim has been made for Bulgarian.

Bulgarian, like Macedonian, developed an imperfect *l*-form. Unlike Macedonian, however, Bulgarian developed two tense forms based on the *l*-form with present auxiliary: The original "perfect," which has the auxiliary in all three persons and is based only on the aorist stem (but cf. chapter 6), and the newer "reported," which can be formed either from the aorist or the imperfect stem and which lacks the auxiliary in the third person. According to Aronson (1967: 90), the perfect/reported distinction exists only in the third person. While some linguists have contended that the basic meaning of the so-called Bulgarian perfect is resultative (Andrejčin 1957: 59) and others that it is indefinite (Borodič 1957: 436), it has been demonstrated that neither of these defines a suitable basic meaning for the Bulgarian "perfect" (Christiforov 1972: 53, 123) and that the Bulgarian "perfect" is, in fact, an unmarked past (Aronson 1967: 88 and Janakiev 1962: 432). Some of the problems posed by Bulgarian reported forms do not arise for Macedonian, since there exists no formally distinct reported in the latter language. The relation of Macedonian *sum* forms to the concepts of reported speech will be discussed later in this chapter.

Koneski (1965: 168; 1967: 461) has suggested that the Macedonian *sum* series has a basic meaning of indefiniteness, i.e., description of an action in the past without reference to the specific moment during which it took place, frequently with the additional meaning of resultativity. Examples (100) and (101) present *sum* tense forms which cannot be interpreted as resultative, given their contexts. The speaker of (100) was reminiscing about her father, who had died many years ago, and so the man's passion for flowers could not be of present relevance (cf. Jespersen 1965: 270). Similarly, (101) takes place at an indefinite time in the past and cannot be said to have any present relevance, i.e., results. Examples (102) through (104) could also be used as counterexamples to the basic meaning of resultative or present relevance, since they specify a definite time in the past. It is such examples that most clearly demonstrate the fact that the Macedonian *sum* tense forms are not perfects. In addition to this fact, however, these examples show that the *sum* series cannot be defined as having an invariant meaning of indefiniteness. Example (102), it may be argued, has a reported meaning and is therefore not relevant. However, unless one is willing to support a theory maintaining that Macedonian possesses two completely homonymous sets of *sum* forms—reported and nonreported—which are not always clearly distinguishable in context, all uses of the *sum* forms must be accounted for by one invariant meaning or by none at all (i.e., the view presented here, that the *sum* series is unmarked with respect to the other past series). Examples (103) and (104), which are supplied by Koneski himself, are unambiguously nonreported and definite. Example (104) is even a counterexample to the situation illustrated by (50), which is cited again here:

(50) a. Jas *sum* rekol i pak velam: (Koneski 1967: 466)
'I have said before and again I say:'
b. Jas rekov itn. (Koneski 1967: 467)
'I said etc.'

Thus, neither resultative nor indefinite can function as the basic meaning of the *sum* series, although they may be contextual variants. In fact, the resultativity or indefiniteness of a *sum* form could actually be said to be expressed by the context in which the *sum* form occurs rather than by the form itself, just as the present cannot be said to express the past but merely to function in its stead. The actual pastness, e.g., in a narrative in the historical present, is carried by the context and not by the verb forms.

3.2.2. Nonwitnessed and Nonconfirmative

The marked confirmative status of the simplex past and the reported/nonreported dichotomy of Bulgarian have resulted in the suggestion that the Macedonian *sum* series or Bulgarian "perfect" has an invariant meaning of nonconfirmative or, put more strongly, nonwitnessed. Van Wijk (1933) writes that the Old Church Slavonic perfect already displayed signs of being preferred for nonwitnessed events. The idea that Bulgarian might have a special nonwitnessed category was first proposed by Trifonov (van Schooneveld 1959: 16). Although Borodič (1957: 436) and Christiforov (1972: 134, 142) have argued that the Bulgarian "perfect" must be used for nonwitnessed or nonconfirmed, but not reported, events, Aronson (1967: 88) has shown that this is not always the case. In Macedonian, it is clear that the *sum* series can be used to describe an event witnessed by the speaker, e.g., (105) and (106), or for confirmation, e.g., (107) and (108).

Example (107) calls for a brief discussion of the verb *znam* 'I know' and its implications. In Bulgarian, there are two views regarding the nature of the so-called reported *l*-forms. One view holds that such forms are a mere indication of source (Vladimir Georgiev, personal communication to Bill J. Darden), while the other holds that their use constitutes qualification on the truth of the assertion (Peter Dinekov, personal communication to Bill J. Darden). Thus Dinekov would not accept sentences of the type *znam* + reported, while Georgiev would. In Macedonian the *sum* series, even when it is being used in its contextual variant meaning of reported, can be used in subordination to *znam*, as in example (107), and so the *sum* series cannot be said to have the basic meaning of nonconfirmative in the sense of qualification of the truth. It is also interesting to note that *znam* provides some excellent examples of nonresultative indefinites:

(112) Sum znaela nemački ama sum zaboravila.

'I used to know German, but I have forgotten (it).'

(113) Ne sum znael vo toa vreme.

'I didn't know at the time.'

Example (108) is acceptable even if the speaker's evidence is hearsay. In such a case, he would essentially be swearing by his sources. The use of *sum* forms for confirmations is quite common in official documents. Thus example (114) is the heading of the column in the Yugoslavian national health insurance medical record book (*zdravstvena legitimacija form ZP-1*) in which the doctor writes the date and officially bears witness to the fact that the holder of the book was present for his medical appointment, i.e., that he was not unjustifiably absent from work. Example (115) is used on official receipts for stipends paid to foreign students at the University of Skopje. The person paying the money signs his name beneath the confirmation:

(114) Se javil na pregled.

'He has appeared for examination.'

(115) Isplatil.

'He has paid.'

Because of the close relation between the counterexamples for nonwitnessed and reported, examples (109) through (111) will be discussed here. Example (109) is a typical first person witnessed example in which the speaker cannot be said to be repeating something she heard. Example (110) must be put in the correct context. The speaker is riding a bus from Skopje to Istanbul. At the border station at Ǵuševo, he tries to use the bathroom but finds it in deplorable condition. He then goes to one of the customs officers and utters the sentence given in example (110). The meaning here may be interpreted as resultative, but not as reported. In example (111), Bube's and Gaga's deed has been either witnessed by the speaker nor reported to him, so the speaker's statement is a deduction or supposition.

Before commencing a detailed analysis of the phenomenon of reported speech in Macedonian, a brief excursus on the problem of the opposition confirmed/reported is in order. Lunt (1952: 93) writes that the distinction between "vouched-for" and "distanced" actions is rigidly observed in Macedonian, and offers the following example:

(116) Toj beše vo Skopje—odnosno bil, ne go vidov. (Lunt 1952: 93)
'He was in Skopje—rather (they say) he was, I didn't see him.'

Lunt says the example is not literally translatable into English. While it is true that there is no one-to-one correspondence between English and Macedonian verb forms, it is also true that, given an understanding of the contextual variants of the *sum* series and a knowledge of the context of the utterance, a fairly accurate translation, such as the one suggested above, can be achieved. Taking into account examples such as (65) through (67), which are cited again here, it should be clear that the distinction is not necessarily rigid:

(65) Možete da dojdete vo arhivot. Tie se vratija.
'You can go to the archives. They have returned.'

(66) Kaži kako begaše.
'Tell how you eloped.'

(67) Viktor beše vo gradot i te čekaše.
'Victor was downtown and waited for you.'

There are two possible explanations for the hesitation in (116). One is that the speaker changed his mind after uttering the first phrase and decided to disclaim responsibility for the statement. While disclaiming is not an invariant meaning for the *sum* forms, it is certainly an important contextual variant. In the case of this explanation, the utterance is somewhat anacoluthic, and the English translation captures the meaning completely. The other possible explanation is that the speaker was from a place such as Bitola, where the confirmed/reported distinction is virtually nonexistent (Koneski 1965: 148 and Koneski, Vidoeski, and Jašar-Nasteva 1968: 520). In such a case, the speaker would have been attempting to correct his speech on the basis of that which he had been taught in school, and not on the basis of his feelings for his native language. On the one hand, it is undeniable that a confirmed/reported distinction does exist for some speakers at the level of contextual variance. Thus a professor at the University of Skopje who is a native of Bitola remarked that she had some difficulties when she first came to Skopje because her colleagues, who were from other regions, were confused by her tense-form usage. It should not be construed, however, that the use of simplex pasts for reported events or of *sum* forms for witnessed ones is restricted to the Bitola region, e.g., example (66) was spoken by a native of the Prilep region, while (67) came from a native of Skopje.

In conclusion, the Macedonian *sum* series is the least marked of the past tense forms. While it has a number of different contextual variants, it is clear that no single variant can serve as an invariant basic meaning of the *sum* series. Of the four variants considered thus far—resultative, indefinite, nonwitnessed, and nonconfirmative—indefinite might appear to come closest to being the chief contextual variant (cf. (50), (51), (100), (101), (105), (107), and (110)), since most of the examples which are not lexically specified as definite seem to be indefinite. However, there remains the problems of indirect discourse and reported speech in Macedonian, with the related categories of admirativity and dubitativity. These problems will occupy the remainder of this chapter, at the end of which a suggestion for the *sum* series's chief contextual variant will be made.

3.2.3. Reported

By way of introduction, the limited relevance of Bulgarian and other Balkan languages will be examined first. As has already been mentioned several times, Bulgarian is said to distinguish two types of *l*-form: the "perfect" and the "reported." It is not necessary to dwell on the problem of the degree of homonymy within the Bulgarian reported, since there is no corresponding situation in Macedonian (cf. Părvev 1969: 47–83). The Bulgarian reported forms are classed as marked modals by many grammarians (Ivanov 1970: 45; Maslov 1955: 311; Borodič 1961: 68; Čolakova 1963: 213; Demina 1959: 356–61; Debraekeleer 1966: 238). Even Koneski (1965: 148) calls the reported use of the Macedonian *sum* series "modal." However, this is inconsistent with the definition of mood cited in chapter 1 of this work, since the events described by reported forms are ontologically real because they have already occurred. Aronson (1967: 92) writes that the Bulgarian reported forms are marked members of the Jakobsonian category evidential (Jakobson 1957: 4). This category is not necessary for Macedonian, since there is no morphologically distinct set of reported forms, not even for the special category of dubitative, which in Bulgarian has special forms, although their use does not appear to be consistent (cf. Andrejčin 1961: 307 and Maslov 1955: 314).

Although Macedonian does not have the special forms of Bulgarian, its *sum* series is nevertheless said to have characteristic uses in common with

Bulgarian, i.e., for certain kinds of indirect speech (reported) and for the expression of disbelief (dubitative) and of surprise (admirative). This usage is frequently attributed to the influence of Turkish forms in *-mIş* (Gołąb 1960: 37; Koneski 1965: 148; Stankov 1969: 178), or at least to their influence on some preexisting tendency (Stojkov 1960: 198). This influence has even been said to extend to Albanian (Sandfeld 1930: 160 and Debraekeleer 1966: 244), although not to Greek or Aromanian (Koneski 1965: 148 and Gołąb 1960: 37).[1] The Macedo-Bulgarian admirative has been attributed to Albanian influence (Weigand 1923–24: 567–68; 1925: 150–52; Sandfeld 1930: 119; Fiedler 1968: 369), but this has been disputed (Romanski 1926 and Beševliev 1928). The Albanian admirative is a separate morphological category, while the Macedo-Bulgarian one, despite linguists' hesitations with regard to assigning it as a variant of the reported (Andrejčin 1944: 311; Maslov 1955: 314; Darden 1977) or perfect (Aronson 1967: 94; Christiforov 1972: 102; Stankov 1969: 178; Beševliev 1928; Demina 1959: 324–28; Debraekeleer 1966: 267) in Bulgarian, is clearly not a totally separate category to begin with. In Turkish, despite Debraekeleer's mistaken assertion to the contrary (1966: 267), the *-mIş* forms can also function as admirative or dubitative:

(117) Ey adam imiş! Toj bil dobar čovek! (Koneski 1965: 148)
'Why, he's a good man!'

(118) Mehmet: Ankara'ya gidiyorum
Ahmet: Ankara'ya gidiyormuş!

Mehmet: Odam vo Ankara.
Ahmet: Odel vo Ankara!

Mehmet: 'I'm going to Ankara.'
Ahmet: 'He says he's going to Ankara (pfui)!'

The Turkish forms, however, can be used in ways which would not sound good in Macedonian:

(119) [Mehmet:] Yeni Bakan iyi bir adam.
[Ahmet:] İmiş. (Lewis 1967: 102)

Mehmet: Noviot minister e dobar čovek.
Ahmet: *Bil/Taka velat.

Mehmet: 'The new minister is a good man.'
Ahmet: '*Was/So they say.'

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[1] See now Friedman 2003a, 2004.

The normal response of Ahmet in Macedonian would be as in English, not Turkish. The questions of origin and influence are diachronic ones, which do not concern this synchronic study. They have been mentioned for the sake of providing a fuller background. This having been accomplished, the problems of indirect speech in Macedonian and the categories of dubitativity and admirativity will be examined.

Before discussing the specific case of Macedonian, however, it will be necessary to examine the basic concepts of direct speech, indirect speech, reported speech, and semi-indirect (*style indirect libre*). Direct speech (*oratio recta*) is a reproduction of a speaker's exact words, while indirect speech (*oratio obliqua*) is an adaptation of those words to the circumstances in which they are quoted (Jespersen 1965: 290). Indirect speech avoids the commitment of speaking straight out (Searle 1969: 196). By abandoning the exact text, it seeks abstraction, neutrality, and the transmission of ideas only (Mancaş 1972: 10). In English, indirect speech is characterized by the so-called government of tenses. As Jespersen (1965: 294) aptly remarks, shifting tenses implies shifting responsibility, and he offers the following examples:

(120) He told me that you were/are married. (cf. Jespersen 1965: 294)

(121) He told me that twice two was/is four. (cf. Jespersen 1965: 294)

In (120) the speaker implies mere reporting, rather than corroboration, by shifting tenses. Such a shift is inappropriate for an established fact, such as (121). Russian is said to lack the kind of tense agreement found in English, both in indirect speech (*kosvennaja reč'*) and elsewhere. Thus, according to Belevickaja-Xalizeva (1963: 51–53), the verb in a subordinate clause will be in the past tense form if the action preceded the action described by the main verb; otherwise it will be nonpast. So in indirect speech the tenses of the original utterance are retained, although if the verb *byt'* is involved, the past may be used in order to avoid a hiatus (Borras and Christian 1971: 145). Costello (1960–61: 489–90), however, has pointed out that while indirect speech in English is generally understood to be subordinate to any verb of speaking or perception, the Russian definition of indirect speech appears to limit it to *verba declarandi*. The retention of original tenses in indirect speech in this strict sense appears to be consistent, but after verbs of perception, this practice is not consistently followed, as the following examples illustrate:

(122) ... a ja dumal, čto znal vas. (Costello 1960–61: 490)
'... and I thought that I knew you.'

(123) Mne kazalos', čto ja ee ljubil. (Costello 1960–61: 493)

'It seemed to me that I loved her.'

(124) Ona po ix licam videla, čto u nix ne bylo ni kopejki. (Costello 1960–61: 493)

'She saw from their faces that they hadn't a kopeck.'

It is even true that on rare occasions the tense of Russian indirect speech in its strict sense will be made to agree with the tense of the author's speech rather than preserving the tense of the original speech (Vinogradov 1960: 417). Thus even Russian, which is commonly assumed to be totally lacking in the kind of tense agreement found in English, can be shown to possess it to a limited extent. It is interesting to note that the stylistic value of this tense shifting is said to be the rendering of a more objective impression of the events described (Costello 1960–61: 495 and Borras and Christian 1971: 145).

Mancaş (1972: 9–10) gives seven characteristics of indirect speech, using Romanian as her main model:

(i) Undeletable verb of declaration or perception
(ii) Subordinating conjunction or construction
(iii) Change of pronouns
(iv) Optional reversal of deictic pronouns and adverbs
(v) Transformation of imperative to subjunctive
(vi) Transformation of interrogative intonation to declarative
(vii) Elimination of affective elements, e.g., exclamations

Reported speech is often confused with indirect speech. While a given utterance may be described as an instance of one or the other, such is not always the case. Darden (1973: 326) distinguishes reported speech from indirect speech by stating that the former employs a morphological inflection for secondhand information, while the latter employs subordination to a lexical item of speaking or perception. Example (125) is indirect speech, but not reported speech:

(125) Rekov deka bev kaj Vaska.

'I said that I was at Vaska's.'

On the other hand, example (126) is reported speech, although it is not morphologically marked as indirect and lacks the subordinating conjunction required by Mancaş:

(126) Egipetskite sili ja skršija izraelskata protivofansiva na centralniot sektor na sinajskiot front, nanesuvajḱi mu na neprijatelot teški zagubi vo luǵe i materijali, se veli vo izveštajot na voeniot dopisnik na agencijata MENA, Abdel Meguil Ajub. (N. M. 20 X 73: 1)

The Egyptian forces broke the Israeli counteroffensive in the central sector of the Sinai front, causing the enemy heavy losses in men and materiel, it said in a communiqué of the military correspondent of the agency MENA, Abdel Meguil Ajub.

This raises two points: One is that for purposes of linguistic research, reported speech can best be defined as the repeating by the speaker of the speech of some other speaker without the repetition's being a direct quotation.

Reported speech can be said to specify what the source of information is, i.e., someone else's report, while indirect discourse specifies who the source is, i.e., the speaker or someone else. The second point is the fact that indirect speech is not the only form other than direct speech in which a report can be rendered. There is a form of discourse which combines features of direct and indirect discourse. In French it is known as *style indirect libre,* in German as *erlebte Rede,* and in Russian as *nesobstvenno-prjamaja reč'* or *svobodnaja kosvennaja reč'*; it is also found in Spanish, Italian, Czech, Danish, Icelandic, English, Amharic, Romanian, and probably any other language with any kind of direct/indirect discourse distinction. Gragg's (1972: 75) term semi-indirect discourse will be used here as the English name for this phenomenon. Mancaş (1972: 64–113) gives a long discussion of the characteristics of semi-indirect discourse. For the purposes of this work, an abbreviated list of the most salient features, according to Mancaş, will be given here:

(i) The verb of saying and subordinating conjunction are omitted.
(ii) Pronouns are shifted as in indirect discourse.
(iii) Deictics may be shifted.
(iv) The imperative becomes subjunctive.
(v) Affective elements, and the intonation of direct discourse (e.g., the word order of interrogation) are maintained.

By way of further clarification, two examples, one English and the other Russian, are offered:

(127) a. *Direct*: George was stunned. He thought, 'My God, what will I do?'

b. *Indirect*: George was stunned. He wondered (*My God) what he would do.

c. *Semi-indirect*: George was stunned. My God, what would he do? (Gragg 1972: 76)

(128) a. *Direct*: Brat byl protiv: on skazal: 'Kak že, tak ja i soglasilsja na èto!'

'Her brother was opposed. He said, "As if I would agree to that!"'

b. *Indirect*: Brat byl protiv; on skazal, čto ne soglasilsja na èto.

'Her brother was opposed. He said that he wouldn't agree to that.'

c. *Semi-indirect*: Brat byl protiv. Kak že, tak on i soglasilsja na èto! (Vinogradov 1960: 428)

'Her brother was opposed. As if he would agree to that!'

Mancaş (1972: 42–60) indicates that the historical origins of semi-indirect discourse are in anacoluthic mixings of direct and indirect discourse. In studying seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Romanian texts, Mancaş found the omission of the subordinating conjunction and the retention of affective and intonational elements but not the omission of the introductory verb (with the exception of one eighteenth-century example) or the change of imperative to subjunctive. Instances of the transposition of tense and person are labeled as anacoluthic by Mancaş, i.e., she said that they were really confusions of tense and person. Jespersen (1965: 299) indicates that semi-indirect discourse has its origins in the fact that indirect discourse requires a changed attitude from which people easily lapse. He cites an example from an Icelandic saga:

(129) mælti at hann skyldi gera til brauð þeira, en ek man sœkja eldivið.

he said that he [the other] was to prepare their bread, but I will fetch fuel. (Jespersen 1965: 299–300)

This example is anacoluthic, but not true semi-indirect discourse. The following example from modern American fiction shows a switch from indirect discourse to semi-indirect in midsentence:

(130) Mr. Leeson... told me that a fishing party was being arranged for Ambassador Kelefy, newly arrived in this country, and that the

> ambassador had expressed a desire to eat fresh trout cooked by Nero Wolfe, *and would I oblige him.* (Stout 1958: 77; italics mine)

The indirect discourse, complete with *verbum declarandi* and subordinating conjunction, shifts into semi-indirect discourse at the end by preserving the word order but not the pronominalization (and perhaps the tense) of the original question. In the type of semi-indirect discourse illustrated by (127) and (128), the second sentence is spoken not by the narrator but by the subject of the preceding sentence. Cases such as (129) and (130) are really anacoluthic and thus not amenable to rigid interpretation. Having examined the theory of direct, indirect, and semi-indirect discouse and reported speech, it will be seen that the relations of these concepts to the Macedonian verbal system has some interesting insights to offer.

The facts of Macedonian, at least at first glance, are such that the definitions of indirect and semi-indirect discourse given by Mancaş must be modified to some extent to give them a broader spectrum of application, i.e., to include Macedonian. In Macedonian, indirect speech does not need to be introduced by a verb or subordinating conjunction; it suffices to shift the tense forms to the *sum* series if the speech is reported (Ivanova 1967: 82). The pronouns change, the imperative becomes subjunctive, and the affective elements are transformed or lost as one would expect. Questions do not undergo any special changes between direct and indirect discourse. Since this work is concerned with the indicative, changes between marked modal categories are of no concern. Thus, in studying styles of discourse in Macedonian, four main features constitute the center of interest: (i) shifting of pronouns, (ii) shifting of tense forms, (iii) presence of a verb of speaking or perception, and (iv) presence of a subordinating conjunction. Table 5 on the following page gives the normal transformations for Macedonian indirect discourse. As can be seen from Table 5, when subordinated to an overt verb of reporting (and subordinating conjunction) in Macedonian, the present of direct discourse remains a present and the *sum* form remains a *sum* form, while the simplex past is transformed into a *sum* form.

Table 5. Transformations for Indirect Discourse in Macedonian

Verb of Reporting	Subordinating Conjunction	Original Speech		
		znam 'I know'	*znaev* 'I knew'	*sum znael* 'I knew'
veli 'he says'	*deka* 'that'	*znae* 'he knows'	*znael* 'he knew'	*znael*
reče 'he said'		*znae / znael*	*znael*	*znael*
ḱe reče 'he will say'		*znae*	*znael*	*znael*

Due perhaps to the influence of the existence of the distinct morphological category of reported in Bulgarian on the thinking of some linguists, the Macedonian *sum* series has, on occasion, had similar characteristics ascribed to it, e.g., obligatory occurrence with verbs of reporting. This is not really the case, but the actual situation is a complicated one. In Macedonian direct discourse, as in the languages studied by Mancaş, a verb of speaking or perception followed by a pause is used. Since the *sum* series has the contextual variant meaning of reportedness, if the context so indicates, the use of *sum* forms will signal indirect discourse without a verb of speaking or subordinating conjunction. Such indirect discourse will always be reported speech. If it involves the first person, the information will nevertheless be understood to be secondhand, as in example (71), which will be cited again here, or example (131).

(71) … tolku li *sum* bil pijan, *sum* fatil edna pesna, (Koneski 1967: 478)
'… I was so drunk I started to sing a song,'

(131) Mi kažuvala majka mi—koga *sum* bil mal, *sum* padnal ednaš od čardak.
'My mother used to tell me that when I was a child, I fell once from the balcony.' (Gołąb 1960: 35)

In example (131), the speaker does not remember the incident from his childhood and therefore chooses to assert rather than confirm it. The effect of using the unmarked past in this first-person context is one of reportedness. As indicated in Table 5, the *sum* series is less facultative when subordinated to an overt verb of reporting. The degree of facultativity of *sum*-series replacements of the present and the simplex past and the effect this has on the understanding of contextual variants and the concept of semi-indirect discourse in Macedonian are major problems.

Macedonian does not have the English-style agreement of tenses. Thus, if an utterance is made using a present tense form, the report will also normally be in the present:

(132) No i drugi od gradot mi rekoa deka na čistotata ne se vnimava. (N. M. 4 IX 74: 6)

'But others, too, from the city told me that cleanliness was not attended to.'

(133) … a vistina e, što Mičel veli deka za običniot narod Lidi i Hant se golemi ribi. (N. M. 9 VI 74: 6)

'… really that was the thing Mitchell kept saying that to people in the country Liddy and Hunt were big men.' (W. H. 1974: 57)

However, if the overt verb of reporting is deleted, it is possible to substitute a *sum* tense form in its reported sense for a present, or so the phenomenon appears at first glance:

(134) Čovekov bil od America.

'This man (said he) is/was from America.'

Example (134) requires some contextual explanation. The author was looking for a friend at an office. He met a cleaning woman there and explained who he was and whom he sought. She took him to another office and introduced him to the people sitting around there with the words of (134). There was no implication that she doubted his words; she merely chose to present them as a reported (speech) event. This brings up the second argument with regard to the relation of the present tense form to the *sum* series. The facts illustrated by sentences such as (134) have led grammarians to conclude that the Macedonian *sum* series, like the present, is not marked as a past tense form. This is not, however, the case. There are facts which indicate that the *sum* series, when used as a reported form, is never actually present. The anticipatory or projective nature of the future has something of the temporal about it, such that the rules of subordinating to main clauses containing future forms are of significance here. If the *sum* series were not marked as past and therefore freely substitutable for the present, one would not have the situation which exists in Macedonian, as illustrated by these examples:

(135) Lidija ḱe reče deka ne znae.
'Lidija will say that she doesn't know.'

(136) *Lidija ḱe reče deka na znaela.
'Lidija will say that she doesn't know.'

Thus (136) is ungrammatical when used in the meaning given or even as a dubitative. Example (136), with one exception, was rejected by every native speaker of Macedonian interviewed, both educated and uneducated, academic and nonacademic, polyglot and monolingual. If the reported *sum* form could really be used as a present tense form, (136) would be acceptable. The question of accounting for sentences like (134), however, remains to be solved. A report of a speech event is necessarily treating an action which is ontologically past. Thus, for example, the understood utterance of *sum od Amerika* 'I am from America' on the part of the speaker whose speech is reported in (134) is changed in person to *e* 'he is' in accordance with the rules for rendering indirect discourse. At this point, the sentence could be used as a grammatical report in Macedonian:

(137) Čovekov (veli deka) e od Amerika.
'This man (says he) is from America.'

The speaker of (134), however, chose to delete the verb of reporting and to shift tenses as well as person. In nongenerative terms, the unmarked past was permissible in place of the present because the actual speech event being reported occurred in the past. Generatively, one could say that in place of the deleted verb of reporting there exists a higher abstract verb of reporting marked as past, and that agreement with that verb is optional, or one could say that the deleted verb in (134) was past and that tense agreement preceded the deletion. Thus in (134) the *e* can be said to have been made to agree with the pastness of the abstract or deleted verb of reporting. This optional shifting of tenses is precisely the kind of phenomenon illustrated by example (120), i.e., the speaker is free to take more or less responsibility for the reported statement by choosing whether or not to shift tenses.

While the case of Macedonian presents certain striking similarities to English, there are also very important differences. Some of these differences stem from the fact that Macedonian differentiates past tense forms on the basis of the grammatical category of confirmative status. In reported speech in Macedonian, it is normal to change any simplex past forms into *sum* forms. Due to the fact that simplex past forms are marked for confirmation, in the least marked of contexts, i.e., the third person, the use of the unmarked past indicates the shifting of responsibility away from the speaker such that the utterance is most likely to be understood as a report. This raises the question of the degree to which the contextual variant meaning of reportedness can influence the use of the *sum* series. Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971: 349) distinguish between that which a speaker presupposes and that which s/he asserts, e.g.:

(138) I (don't) regret that the door is closed.

In this example, regret is being asserted and can be negated, but the door's being closed remains a presupposed fact regardless of the negation of regret. Kirparsky and Kiparsky (1971: 356) call verbs whose complements are presupposed to be true factives. Wilson (1972: 409) has written that factives involve logical entailment, not logical presupposition, although she admits that they involve psychological presupposition. Sadock (1974: 48) writes that a factive's complements are assumed true by the speaker. The question arises in Macedonian as to what is the relationship between a factive verb and its complement if the complement is in the *sum* series. Can the reported meaning of a *sum* form be understood to be a presupposition, entailment, or assumption such that the statement in the factive complement may be taken as someone else's utterance which the speaker is then free to contradict? Evidently not, as the following examples show:

(139) *Blaže go udril Božo, ama ne veruvam vo toa.
'Blaže hit Božo, but I don't believe it.'

(140) *Znam deka Blagoja go napravil toa, ama vsušnost ne e vistina.
'I know Blagoja did it, but it's not really true.'

(141) *Se raduvam deka Gerasim go videl Krumeta; žal mi e što ne e vistina.
'I'm glad that Gerasim saw Krume; I'm sorry that it's not true.'

In Macedonian, as in English, any of these sentences can be made grammatical by inserting *velat* 'they say', but without an overt verb of reporting, the sentences are ungrammatical in both languages. Thus the abstract or deleted verb of reporting cannot be deleted except in principal clauses. This fact, as illustrated by the three preceding examples, constitutes additional evidence that reported is not the invariant meaning of the *sum* series.

It was stated above that simplex pasts are ordinarily changed to unmarked pasts in reported speech. The phenomenon of semi-indirect discourse was also discussed to some extent, and it was pointed out that Macedonian indirect discourse can have properties normally attributed to semi-indirect, e.g., the omission of the verb of reporting and subordinating conjunction. This brings up the question of the circumstances under which Macedonian can have semi-indirect discourse, i.e., when it is possible to combine the features of direct discourse and indirect discourse or reported speech. In Macedonian direct discourse features the use of simplex pasts, while indirect discourse, especially reported speech, features unmarked pasts. It would follow that the use of simplex pasts in reported speech would produce the effect of semi-indirect discourse, i.e., more vivid, almost quotative (e.g., in the use of exclamations, vocatives, etc.) speech. In fact, the use of simplex forms in reported speech ordinarily has the effect of providing the narrator's personal confirmation of the reported information, i.e., his personal involvement in the report:

(142) Spored Olivera, Redžep (ne) odeše po planina.
'According to Olivera, Redžep did (not) go hiking in the mountains.'

(143) Hajredin veli deka Ajša (ne) odeše po planina.
'Hajredin says that Ajša was(n't) hiking in the mountains.'

(144) Slavica tvrdi deka tie go izvršija zlostorstvoto.
'Slavica claims that they committed the crime.'

(145) Mu rekov na Smajo deka beše so mene.
'I told Smajo that you were with me.'

All four examples are in indirect discourse, although only the first three involve reported speech. In all examples, the fact that the verb is given in the simplex past means that the speaker is vouching for the report on his own; (144), for example, implies *i jas go tvrdam toa* 'and I assert it' (Blaže Koneski, personal communication). There are instances, however, in which the simplex form is used even though the reporter is not necessarily committing himself to the veracity of the report:

(146) Ete, sevo ova, konstatira Radio-Tirana, se naoǵaše vo bagažot na Gromiko za vreme na negovite sredbi što gi imaše vo Vašington. (N. M. 16X 72: 3)

'Here, all of this, claims Radio-Tirana, was to be found in Gromyko's baggage during the time of his meetings in Washington.'

(147) Albanija tvrdi deka e poznat faktot oti Moskva gi iniciraše i sileše golemobugarskite šovinistički ambicii kon balkanskite zemji. (N. M. 13 XII 73: 3)

'Albania asserts that it is a well-known fact that Moscow initiated and strengthened Greater Bulgarian chauvinistic ambitions towards the Balkan lands.'

(148) Isto taka, soopšteno e daka izraelskite avioni izutrinava bombardiraa eden siriski aerodrom. (N. M. 15 X 73: 1)

'It was also announced that Israeli planes this morning bombed a Syrian airfield.'

In these examples, the effect is quotative; the reporter is not necessarily vouching for the truth of the statements but is rather trying to retain more of their subjective flavor by using the original tenses of the direct discourse. One final set of examples on the interaction of direct and indirect discourse in Macedonian is presented here:

(149) Direct discourse: "Dali beše vo Ohrid?"
'"Were you in Ohrid?"'

(150) Indirect discourse: Toj me praša…
'He asked me…'

a. … dali bev vo Ohrid.
'… was I in Ohrid.'

b. … dali sum bil vo Ohrid.
'… if I was in Ohrid.'

c. *… dali si bil vo Ohrid.
'… if you were in Ohrid.'

Thus, in Macedonian, there are essentially three possibilities for indirect discourse: shift of person, shift of status, and shift of both. Status cannot be shifted and render the correct report without also shifting person. The translation of (150) is intended to illustrate this effect.

In comparing Mancaş and others on semi-indirect discourse with the facts of Macedonian, it is possible to make the following observations: Unlike the languages mentioned or studied by Mancaş and others, Macedonian has reported as one of the contextual variant meanings of its unmarked past, and thus the omission of an introductory verb and subordinating conjunction in Macedonian is not at all uncommon for reported indirect speech, since the tense form chosen for the utterance may be sufficient to indicate that it is in indirect discourse. While such omissions are considered essential features of semi-indirect discourse (Mancaş 1972: 64), it is clear that they are not really required, or else Macedonian is incapable of the combination of direct and indirect speech known as semi-indirect discourse.

In fact, however, Macedonian is capable of producing a type of semi-indirect discourse. The retention of the affective elements and intonational features of direct discourse combined with a shifting of the pronouns for indirect discourse can be viewed as the real essence of semi-indirect discourse. And this is precisely what we find in Macedonian. Since shifting of tense forms takes on a significance in Macedonian which is lacking in the languages studied by Mancaş, the retention of the tense forms of direct discourse can be considered to be a form of preservation of what Mancaş refers to as the intonation of direct discourse. Example (146) shows the use of both the tense form and an exclamation (*Ete!* 'here!'). It is interesting to note that Macedonian does not permit a shift of status, which in this context can be equated with what Mancaş calls intonational elements, without a concomitant shift of person. Thus Macedonian has indirect discourse (shift of person and status) and semi-indirect discourse (shift of person, but not status), but no other mixture of direct and indirect discourse. From a generative point of view the reported speech may or may not agree with the higher abstract verb of reporting, although pronominalization must always take place with respect to the hypersentence whose subject is the speaker of the utterance. If the reported speech was originally in the present tense form, it is not likely to be changed to agree with the abstract verb, although it may. If the reported speech was originally in the unmarked past it remains so. If, however, the reported speech was originally in the marked, i.e., simplex, past, then it ordinarily is shifted into the unmarked past when subordinated to a verb of reporting—overt or abstract. If such shifting does not take place, the result is essentially affective, i.e., the preservation of the sound of direct discourse despite the form (e.g., pronominalization) of indirect discourse, the Macedonian equivalent of semi-indirect discourse. Before moving on to the special categories of admirativity and dubitativity, a brief overview of some of the possibilities of the relations between subordination and the opposition confirmed/reported in Macedonian and Bulgarian will be given.

In both Bulgarian (Debraekeleer 1966: 282) and Macedonian, a report of a reporter's report must have a present or *sum* series main verb, although verbs in subordinate clauses may be simplex. In Bulgarian, a report of a witness's report will not use the so-called "reported," the use of such a form implying uncertainty or doubt (Debraekeleer 1966: 281), and in Macedonian, a witness's report will ordinarily take a *sum* or present form:

(151) Spored izjavite na očevidci na taa tragedija... sudirot bil tolku silen što dolniot del na avtobusot ednostavno se raspadnal.

(N. M. 23 X 73: 7)

'According to the reports of witnesses of this tragedy... the crash was so violent that the lower part of the bus simply fell apart.'

It is also interesting to note that in Bulgarian newspapers during the communist period, Bulgarian and Soviet press releases (BTA and TASS) were given in the present or simplex past, while the releases of other news agencies were in the perfect or reported (Debraekeleer 1966: 284–85). While this has been called a journalistic cliché, adherence to such usage was taken quite seriously in Bulgaria (Andrejčin 1961: 307). In Macedonian newspapers, no such conventions prevailed.

There are two uses of the *sum* series which are particularly marked and which present special problems: the admirative and the dubitative. Aside from clear cases of reported speech, a *sum* series form can be used where a present tense form would ordinarily be expected under two circumstances: (i) the expression of surprise at a suddenly revealed and unexpected fact (admirative) and (ii) the expression of disbelief with regard to a statement which has just been made (dubitative), as in the following examples:

(152) Ti si bil Rom! Ne sum znael!

'Oh, you're a Gypsy! I didn't know!'

(153) [Jovan:] Toj poveḱe od tebe znae za boksiranje.
[Dušan:] Toj poveḱe znael!

Jovan: 'He knows more about boxing than you do.'
Dušan: 'He knows more, indeed!'

Example (152) was uttered by a Macedonian upon the discovery of the ethnic background of a blond acquaintance of his. Example (153) was the Macedonian-subtitled translation of two lines in a Serbian film. In the original, the present tense forms of the verb *znati* were used in both lines, the difference being carried by intonation.

In Bulgarian, as has already been mentioned, there is a problem with regard to the assignment of the admirative as a contextual variant of the reported or of the perfect. Darden (1977) argues that the Bulgarian admirative is really an emotive use of the reported in its dubitative function, similar to the English *I can't believe it* uttered as an expression of surprise (cf. (77) and (78)). Bulgarian grammarians are concerned that a dubitative be used when the context appears to call for it (Andrejčin 1961: 307). In fact, however, the speaker can frequently express disbelief without using a dubitative form (Maslov 1955: 314 and Debraekeleer 1966: 257, 263). In Macedonian, the dubitative is a highly charged emotive use of the *sum* series. It almost always occurs as a type of sarcastic repetition, as in example (153). In contexts involving disbelief, but not intense sarcasm, where a dubitative might nevertheless be expected, a present is encountered instead:

(154) Taka Musli Liman od s. Dolno Palčište ni objasni deka negovite piperki se zdravi (iako damkite bea vidlivi)... (Počinka 20 X 73: 10)

'Thus Musli Liman from the village of Dolno Palčište explained to us that his peppers were healthy (although the spots were visible)...'

This passage was taken from an article on a pepper blight in the Tetovo region. Each merchant tried to claim that his peppers had somehow escaped the disease, the signs of which were white spots on the peppers. Another example of a context in which the expected dubitative does not occur is an article which appeared in *Nova Makedonija* (9 X 72: 3) under the title *Izmislici pod plaštot na naučna misla* 'Fabrications in the guise of scholarly thought'. The article is a critical account of an article entitled 'The negation of the role of the working class—an expression of capitalistic degeneration in Yugoslavia', which appeared in the Albanian journal *Ekonomia Popullore*. Since the Yugoslav authors strongly disagreed with the claims of the Albanian article, one might expect them to use *sum* forms in reporting these claims, if not to express doubt, at least to emphasize the reported nature of the clauses in question. Throughout the article, however, phrases such as *avtorite tvrdaat deka* 'the authors claim that', *izvlekuvaat deka* 'they conclude that', *obiduvaat da argumentiraat deka* 'they attempt to argue that', *spored ovie avtori* 'according to these authors', etc., are followed only by clauses using present tense forms. In fact, in spoken Macedonian, the so-called dubitative is heard only as a sarcastic repetition of a real or imagined preceding statement (cf. (119) in Turkish). Even Koneski's (1967: 478) examples all express sarcasm, no doubt. In sentences such as (153), the speaker is not casting mere doubt on the statement; he is specifically refuting its truth by means of irony. Thus the so-called dubitative use of *sum* forms in Macedonian would be better described as derisive, contemptuous, sardonic, sarcastic, or ironic. Searle (1969: 57) includes sarcasm in the class of nonliteral utterances which do not fulfill the normal input and output conditions for the performance of an illocutionary act. This, along with Darden's argument, which is equally applicable to Macedonian, presents one method for treating the dubitative and admirative contextual variants of the *sum* series. The theory of an abstract or deleted verb of reporting provides another. The dubitative can be viewed as subordinated to an abstract or deleted verb of reporting, since it always refers to some previous statement. If one then adopts Darden's argument that the admirative is an expressive use of the dubitative, then the dubitative is accounted for as a marked type of reported speech which nevertheless conforms to the essential meaning of reportedness, while the admirative is a marked dubitative whose emotive value derives from its contrary-to-expected-meaning usage, as is also found in examples (77) and (78), which are cited again here:

(77) Ne veruvam deka Husejn go praveše toa!
'I can't believe that Husejn did it!'

(78) Prosto ne mi se veruva deka Husejn go praveše toa!
'I simply can't believe that Husejn did it!'

3.3. Conclusion

Ideally, the conclusion of this chapter would consist of a decisive demonstration of the chief contextual variant meaning of the *sum* series. However, since some of the most important evidence for that demonstration lies in the contrast of the *sum* series to the *ima* series, a contrast which will be presented in the next chapter, this chapter will conclude with an indication rather than a demonstration of the *Hauptbedeutung* of the *sum* series. The two possible choices are indefinite and resultative on the one hand, and some variant of imperceptive (i.e., nonwitnessed, reported, or nonconfirmed) on the other. Examples (50) and (51) provide the major indication. If one takes the minimally marked context, i.e., the third person, nonwitnessed is the *Hauptbedeutung* of the *sum* forms. In marked contexts, e.g., the first person, indefiniteness might appear to be more important, but the context is more marked, so the contextual variant which appears most readily or frequently in it is not necessarily the chief variant meaning. The fact that the feature distinguishing the simplex past from the *sum* forms is confirmative status leads one to expect that its opposite, i.e., some type of nonconfirmativeness, will function as the chief variant meaning of the *sum* series. The rest of the argument will be presented in the next chapter, where it is equally relevant, since one of the thorniest problems confronting the researcher in Macedonian linguistics is the differentiation of the *sum* and *ima* series, as will become clear. Despite that material which must be left for the next chapter, it is now feasible, as shown in Table 6, to add more features of the *sum* series to the distinctive feature matrix begun at the end of the last chapter.

Table 6. Partial Distinctive Feature Matrix of the Simplex and *sum* Series

	Simplex Series			*Sum* Series	
	present	imperfect	aorist	*l*-imperfect	*l*-aorist
Tense	–	+	+	+	+
Status	0	+	+	–	–
Aspect	0	+	–	+	–

Chapter 4 The *Ima* Perfect

4.1. The Meaning of Perfects

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that the Macedonian *sum* series has lost the marked perfect meaning which it is said to have had in earlier times. A new set of tense forms, using the auxiliary *ima* 'have' and the verbal adjective (descendent of the old past passive participle—see p. 13), has come into being. While this series has not had the term *perfect* applied to it in the standard grammars (Lunt 1952 and Koneski 1967), where it is simply called "the forms with *ima*," this appears to be the appropriate term. This chapter will treat only the *ima* perfect, but the results will be equally applicable to the *imaše* perfect and the *imal* perfect.

Before discussing the Macedonian *ima* perfect, a very brief overview of some other perfects may prove helpful. The Indo-European perfect is generally acknowledged as having had two closely related major uses: the one stative, and the other, probably a later development, resultative (Schmidt 1964: 4 and Perl'muter 1967: 94). It did not develop into a preterite tense form until the post-Indo-European period (Schmidt 1964: 2), when it was eventually lost. Using Homer and the Gathas, Schmidt (1964: 8) argues that the meaning of stativity is older than that of resultativity, and the perfect, which had originally not been marked for tense, became a preterite and gradually encroached on the narrative functions of the aorist (Schmidt 1964: 7). Along with the old Indo-European perfect's becoming an unmarked past, new periphrastic perfects were developed independently in various Indo-European languages, using constructions involving the meanings of *be* and *have,* of which the *be* type is the older (Schmidt 1964: 14). The Old Church Slavonic perfect is among those using a *be* construction. In Old Persian and Armenian, the periphrastic transitive perfect is a possessive construction using the verb *be* with the agent in an oblique case (Benveniste 1966: 185). The Old Persian construction survives in Central Kurdish (Smirnova 1967: 145). This is actually a *have* type of perfect, since the ordinary concept of possession is also expressed in these languages by *be* with an oblique agent (Benveniste 1966: 185; see also Kozinceva 2007). A periphrastic perfect expressing the subject's possession of the state resulting from some past act is found as far back as Hittite (Schmidt 1964: 14). Modern Greek, Albanian, and Aromanian all have such constructions with the auxiliary *have*, and the Macedonian form is usually attributed to the influence of the last (Gołąb 1959: 434 and Havránek 1936: 152), although the other languages have also sometimes been given some of the credit (Koneski 1965: 171 and Sandfeld 1930: 106; cf. also Gallis 1960, Vukčević 1901: 147, Mazon 1936: 89, and Mazon and Vaillant 1938: 233). The existence of *have* perfects in Polish dialects, e.g., Silesian and Kashubian, is attributed to German influence (Weinreich 1968: 41 and Vaillant 1966: 90), but similar possessive constructions also occur in Northwest Russian, from Pskov to Lake Onega, and these could have been developed without outside influence or in early contact with Finno-Ugric or Germanic (Zaxarova and Orlova 1970: 89, also v. Bulatova 1975, Kuz'mina 1975, and Danylenko 2006: 218–42). The *ima* perfect in Thracian Bulgarian is also considered to be a native development (Kodov 1934). We can note, however, that just as the Macedonian *ima* series is most stongly developed in areas in intense contact with the Balkan Latin that became Aromanian (Gołąb 1984: 134–35), so, too, in Thrace the *ima* perfect is present in the area where Roman roads such as the Via Egnatia would have had Roman guard posts that could have supplied a similar contact situation, perhaps subsequently reinforced by contact with Greek.

Aside from the meanings of stativity and resultativity, one other important characteristic of many perfects is the fact that the past to which they refer must be indefinite. In the Indo-European perfect, perhaps this is the result of its original lack of tense and its emphasis on present state or result (Lohmann 1937: 43). As a result of the nonspecificity of the past time referred to by the perfect in many languages, e.g., Macedonian, the action described by the perfect takes on a characteristic indefiniteness which leads to the development of the use of the perfect for reported or nonwitnessed acts, such as is said to be found in Vedic, South Caucasian, and South Slavic developments (Lohmann 1937: 43). The indefiniteness of the perfect in many languages, is demonstrated by its general nonoccurrence with definite past-time adverbs (Jespersen 1965: 270 and Darden 1968: 15). Thus the periphrastic perfect in many languages can be said to describe an event viewed as present (hence the use of a present auxiliary) but conceptually classed as accomplished (hence the use of a past participle) and not referring to a specific past time (Benveniste 1968: 88 and Živković 1963: 420).

The Bulgarian constructions with *ima* are said to have the basic meaning of resultative (Bojadžiev 1968: 461 and Aronson 1967: 88). The English perfect has been defined as a past embedded in the present (McCawley 1971: 104), and it is noteworthy that, in addition to its nonoccurrence with definite past-time adverbs, it does not occur in reference to dead people or things unless they have some present effect (Jespersen 1965: 270):

(155) England/*Assyria has had many able rulers.

(156) Socrates has shown…

The present relevance of the perfect may be seen in the difference between the following two questions:

(157) Have you done it?

(158) Did you do it?

According to Jespersen (1965: 269), example (157) is a question about the present, while (158) is a question about the past. The dialectal and colloquial Bulgarian *ima* perfect and the English perfect, however, are decidedly different from the Macedonian *ima* perfect. Aside from the difference to be noted in chapter 6 (pp. 109–10), the Bulgarian *ima* construction cannot occur with an inanimate subject:

(159) a. *Vinoto go ima xvanat. (Kostov 1972: 378)
b. Vinoto go ima fateno.
'The wine has gone to his head (literally, has gotten him).'

Example (159a) is bad Bulgarian, while (159b) is good Macedonian. The differences between the Macedonian *ima* perfect and the English perfect are greater. Aside from the Macedonian perfect's being used in contexts in which the English perfect would be impossible—cases which will be discussed later—there is the lack of correspondence in the translation of English perfects into Macedonian. Table 7, which is based on Arsova (1970: 34), shows the manner of translation of the nonprogressive present perfect of *The Great Gatsby* and *Great Expectations* from English into Macedonian. As can be seen from the table, almost sixty per cent of the English perfects are translated by simplex past and present forms in Macedonian, while the vast majority of the remaining perfects are translated by the unmarked past rather than the marked perfect. If the *ima* perfect were as grammatically close as it is formally similar to the English perfect, one would expect a closer correspondence in translation. Hence, in the investigation of the *ima* perfect, the English perfect will be considered to be of only limited relevance.

Table 7. Translation of English Perfects into Macedonian

	The Great Gatsby	*Great Expectations*	Total
ima perfects	—	14	14
sum series	26	171	197
simplex pasts	29	206	235
Presents	9	45	54
no correspondence	8	9	17
Total	72	445	517

4.2. The *Ima* Perfect

Definitions of the Macedonian *ima* perfect are basically of five types: (i) resultative state of an action completed earlier (Gołąb 1959: 420), (ii) result of an action which is relevant for the present (Usikova 1973: 277–78), (iii) continuing state resulting from an action in past time (Lunt 1952: 98–99), (iv) an act completed at some time in the past up to the moment of speech (Koneski 1967: 503–4), and (v) the emphasizing of a present moment in which the results of a past act are summed up (Koneski 1949: 297). It has also been observed that the Macedonian *ima* perfect cannot refer to a specific time in the past (Koneski 1967: 504 and Korubin 1971: 66). This is said to be due to its relation to the present (Arsova 1968: 51). Here we shall attempt to determine a single basic meaning for the *ima* perfect and the investigation of its use in Macedonian.

4.2.1. The *Ima* Perfect as Statal

In discussing the meaning of the Macedonian *ima* series, the term *statal* will be used in order to avoid confusion with the term *stative*, which, in the grammars of many languages, is limited to certain verbs denoting bodily or mental conditions. The term *statal* will be used to refer to the state resulting from any action, i.e., having performed an action, the subject enters into the state of having performed it. Thus, for example, even verbs such as *hit*, *get*, and *explode* can produce this type of (resultative) state.

That the *ima* perfect has a statal quality is unquestionable. It is not used to carry the narration forward. The fact that it is constructed only with the durative (i.e., imperfect) auxiliary *ima* and does not have the aspectual distinction imperfect/aorist is further evidence that the construction is a statal one. Another argument for the statality of the *ima* perfect is its recent origin, since perfects tend to begin as statives, e.g., Indo-European, and gradually develop into unmarked pasts, e.g., the *sum* series in Macedonian. It should be noted that the *ima* perfect can be formed from all inherently stative verbs in literary Macedonian except *sum* and *ima* (see also 4.3):

(160) Jas imam leženo/spieno vo mnogu čudni mesta.

'I have lain/slept in many strange places.'

The relationship of nominalizations to concepts of state has been noted by Lohmann (1937), and the following example helps to illustrate this point:

(161) Termometarot pokažuva povisoka temperatura za 1 stepen celziusov. Znači...

'The thermometer shows an increase of one degree centigrade. It means...'

a. ... počnale da great. (N. M. 8 X 72: 17)

'... they have started to heat.'

b. ... imaat počnato so greenjeto.

'... they got the heating started.'

Version (161a) was the one which appeared in the newspaper. When asked to substitute an *ima* perfect for the *sum* form, the consultants automatically substituted a nominal complement for the *da*-clause. This could be taken as evidence that the *ima* perfect is felt as a statal form by Macedonians. Nevertheless, statality in and of itself is not sufficient to define the basic meaning of the *ima* perfect. Thus, it is necessary to specify the kind of statality for which the *ima* perfect is marked.

4.2.2. The *Ima* Perfect as Statal Present Resultative

From the material which has already been presented, it can be seen that the perfect can be defined as a statal of present reference or a statal of resultativity, either one or both, since the concepts of present reference and resultativity are clearly closely related: the result of the past action is conceived of as existing in or having reference to the present. Since all resultative forms in Macedonian involve the specification of some action anterior to the speech event, e.g., the *ima* perfect refers to the present result of a past action, the marking for tense in marked resultative forms is redundant. Any forms marked for resultativity are inherently past tense forms, and the marking for tense need not be indicated. What is crucial in distinguishing among resultative tense forms in Macedonian, i.e., the *ima* series, is the time referred to by the result, rather than the time referred to by the action leading to the result. The time of the action leading to the result is always anterior to the speech event; hence the *ima* series is inherently marked for past tense. The time to which the result of the past action refers, however, may be specified as anterior to the speech event (past) or not so specified (present). Thus the tense forms of the *ima* series may be distinguished from one another on the basis of past and present *reference,* i.e., the specification of the result of the past action as referring to a moment anterior to the speech event or not anterior to it. The *ima* perfect, then, is inherently marked for past tense, since it involves an action specified as preceding the speech event, but it is unmarked for past reference, since the result of the past action is not presented as referring to the time preceding the speech event, i.e., the *ima* involves present reference. The past tense of the *ima* perfect makes it unacceptable with adverbs of future reference:

(162) Utre odam vo Gorno Dupeni. (cf. Pianka 1970: 358)
'Tomorrow I am going to Gorno Dupeni.'

(163) *Utre imam odeno vo Gorno Dupeni.
'Tomorrow I have gone to Gorno Dupeni.'

Example (162) illustrates the Macedonian present's not being marked for tense, while (163) demonstrates that this same kind of unmarkedness cannot be found in the *ima* perfect. It should be noted that (163) cannot have the meaning 'Tomorrow I will have gone to Gorno Dupeni'.

The following examples are fairly typical *ima* perfects:

(164) Imam večerano so nego vo negovata privatna kuḱa.
'I have dined with him at his private house.' (Arsova 1973: 171)

(165) Imam dobieno edno pismo sega/do sega od Violeta.
'I have received just now a/up till now one letter from Violeta.'

(166) Imam završeno daktilografski kurs. Deset godini rabotam na rabotno mesto blagajnik i daktilograf. (N. M. 29 VII 74: 10)
'I have completed typing school. For ten years I have worked in the position of cashier and typist.'

In example (164), the speaker has chosen to present the act of dining as a state of present relevance. It is not clear that it would be desirable to define *imam* *večerano* as a "continuing" state since the dining is over and done with. One might say that, having performed the act, the speaker continues to be in the state of having dined at someone's private house, but it seems more likely that he chose to present the fact in the *ima* perfect because of some special relevance it had to the then-present situation. Example (165) shows the *ima* perfect with present adverbs. Example (166) is a clear example of an action completed in the past whose results are conceived of as a state with relevance for the present. One can note that the Macedonian *ima* perfect differs from the English perfect in that the former is not ordinarily used for acts which actually continue into the present, while the latter is. Hence, Macedonian uses the present *rabotam* where English uses the perfect 'I have worked'. This difference between the Macedonian and English perfects can be seen in the following examples:

(167) Rabotam vo Dolno Dupeni deset godini. (cf. Pianka 1970: 348)

(168) Imam raboteno vo Dolno Dupeni deset godini.

(169) Sum rabotel vo Dolno Dupeni deset godini.

(170) Rabotev vo Dolno Dupeni deset godini.

(171) I have worked in Dolno Dupeni for ten years.

(172) I worked in Dolno Dupeni for ten years.

Example (167) could be translated only by (171), while (170) could have only (172) as a translation. Example (169) would ordinarily be translated by (171)—the use of (172) would raise questions of status. Example (168), however, could be translated by (171) or (172). Translation (171) would be used if the present reference of (168) were contextually specified as denoting that the action continues into the present, i.e., that the speaker is employed in Dolno Dupeni at the time of the speech event. If the speaker were no longer working in Dolno Dupeni, but the fact of his having worked there had some special relevance or reference to the moment of the speech event, for which reason he chose to use an *ima* perfect, then (172) would be the closest English translation. Consider the following two English sentences:

(173) I have worked in Dolno Dupeni.

(174) I have worked in Dolno Dupeni for ten years.

In example (173), it is usually understood that the state described by the speaker may or may not continue into the present, while in example (174), the specification of a time period involving the past requires that the action described continue into the present in order for the sentence to be grammatical. In Macedonian, however, example (168) can have the ambiguity of (173) with the time specification of (174). This does not pose a contradiction to the earlier statement that Macedonian perfects do not ordinarily occur with definite past time adverbs. In Macedonian, definite past time adverbs are punctative in their specificity, i.e., they must refer to a specific point in the past, not to a time period. So *ten years* in this context is conceived of as sufficiently vague so as not to constitute a definite past time in Macedonian. This leads to the problem of the occurrence of *ima* perfects with definite time adverbs.

Because the *ima* perfect specifies the act as a present resultative state, it is not ordinarily bound to the past, e.g., by a definite past time adverb (Koneski 1967: 504). While the same is said of the English perfect (Jespersen 1965: 270 and Darden 1968: 15), there are exceptions to the English rule which do not translate grammatically into Macedonian:

(175) *Sreda. Selim ima doznano včera deka Bejbs e bremena od Dejan.
'Wednesday. Selim has learned yesterday that Babes is pregnant by Dejan.'

Sentence (175), when taken in the context of scene-setting stage directions for a play, e.g., a television soap opera, is an acceptable sentence in English. The Macedonian equivalent, however, is not acceptable in that language. It is possible to have a definite past time adverbial phrase modifying an *ima* perfect, but it has a modal meaning:

(176) Marija i Ranko go imaat napraveno toa vo dva saatot včera.
'Marija and Ranko must have done it at two o'clock yesterday.'

As can be seen from the translation, (176) involves a marked modal use of the *ima* perfect. Yet even this deductive modal use of the *ima* perfect stresses its present resultativity. All the consultants specified that they would use such a sentence only when confronted with the direct evidence, i.e., the results, of the action, e.g., 'I saw Marija and Ranko at one o'clock yesterday and they hadn't done anything, but by three o'clock that day it was obvious that they had done it. Therefore... (176)'. Thus the Macedonian *ima* perfect is not ordinarily associated with a definite time in the past. The association in (176) displays a highly marked and modal, i.e., nonindicative, usage, and its present resultative nature is stressed.

To say that the *ima* perfect denotes a present resultative state seems to be the best method of summarizing the basic meaning. However, there are two difficulties which must be met. It has been argued that negative perfects cannot be resultative because they have no result (Arsova 1968: 48). The counterargument is that a negative perfect is the negation of a result, so the concept of resultativity is still involved (Usikova 1973: 278). A sentence such as *Toj ništo nema zboruvano (za) dvaeset godini* 'He hasn't spoken for twenty years' can be described as a state continuing into the present or a state with a negative result, i.e., his silence or not speaking, which is, for some reason, relevant to the present. The second problem can be illustrated by the following two examples:

(177) No, tie deca možat da baraat nadomest vo pari ako imaat pridoneseno za pribavuvanje na starata kuḱa, koja e urnata i na čie mesto e izgradena novata kuḱa. (N. M. 1 VI 74: 16)

?*'But, those children can seek reimbursement in money if they have contributed to the upkeep of the old house which was destroyed and in whose place the new one was built.'

(178) Goce Delčev ima spieno tuka.

*'Goce Delčev has slept here.'

These sentences are quite ordinary in Macedonian, but the use of perfects is questionable or unacceptable in English. In sentence (177), the house to which the children may have contributed no longer exists, while (178) is the Macedonian sociopolitical equivalent of **George Washington has slept here*. These sentences do not sound good in English because the things they refer to no longer exist. The fact that they are acceptable in Macedonian is one more indication that the *ima* perfect cannot be readily equated with the English perfect. The situation in (177) and (178) is similar to that in the following Old Russian use of the perfect:

(179) Reče že Volodimerъ němcemъ: "Iděte opjatь, jako otьci naši sego ne prijali sutь."

'Vladimir however told the Germans: "Go back, for our fathers have not accepted this."' (van Schooneveld 1959: 92)

The word *sego* 'this' refers to the Latin faith. Vladimir is refusing to convert to Roman Catholicism on the grounds that his ancestors did not do so. While the *fathers* are no longer living, their nonacceptance of Roman Catholicism is conceived of as having results relevant for and referring to the situation at the time of the utterance, and so a perfect can be used. One can also speak of a syntactic present relevance, i.e., the command to go is a result of the forefathers' nonacceptance. Similarly, in (177), the contributions to the upkeep of the destroyed house are of relevance at the time of the speech event, i.e., the past action produces the present result of the childrens' potential for seeking reimbursement. Sentence (178) does not have a clarifying context, but it should be clear from previous discussion that it would be used in a context in which the fact had some particular reference to or result in some situation connected with the speech event, e.g., an answer to a question such as *What has happened at this place?*

While the *ima* perfect does not enter into the opposition of confirmative status, the *sum* series's marking for status is involved in the interaction of the *sum* and *ima* series. As has been seen, the *sum* series is differentiated from the simplex past by the opposition of status. While the unmarked *sum* form can always be substituted for the simplex past, the change of status can change the implications of the utterance, i.e., the use of an unmarked form in a context where a marked form would ordinarily be expected is itself a marked usage. The fact that the *sum* series is an unmarked form makes it substitutable for the *ima* series in almost any context without any change of connotation. In fact, since the *ima* perfect is not native to Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, there exists a literary subdialect which never uses it, the *sum* form being used instead (cf. Lunt 1952: 100). Vera Jančevska, the translator of *The Great Gatsby* and a native of Skopje, is such a speaker; hence the total lack of *ima* forms in her translation. The translator of *Great Expectations*, Ivanka Kovilovska, is from Prilep, in a region where the *ima* forms are very well established. Despite the current situation, however, the use of the *ima* series is spreading throughout the area where literary Macedonian is taught. As a result, one can encounter educated speakers from areas such as Probištip, which is even further outside the *ima* area than Skopje, who have lived only in Probištip and Skopje, but who use *ima* forms both in speaking and writing. This is essentially a post-World War Two phenomenon, so speakers born after 1944, when Macedonian was officially recognized as a literary language, are likely to use *ima* forms regardless of the area they come from.

4.3. The *Ima* Perfect in Western Macedonia

A related phenomenon is the extent of the usage of *ima* forms. In the extreme southwest, i.e., Struga, Ohrid, Kostur, and Korča, the *ima* forms have come closer to replacing the *sum* series altogether, i.e., the *ima* perfect is well on the way to becoming a new unmarked past (Koneski, Vidoeski, and Jašar-Nasteva

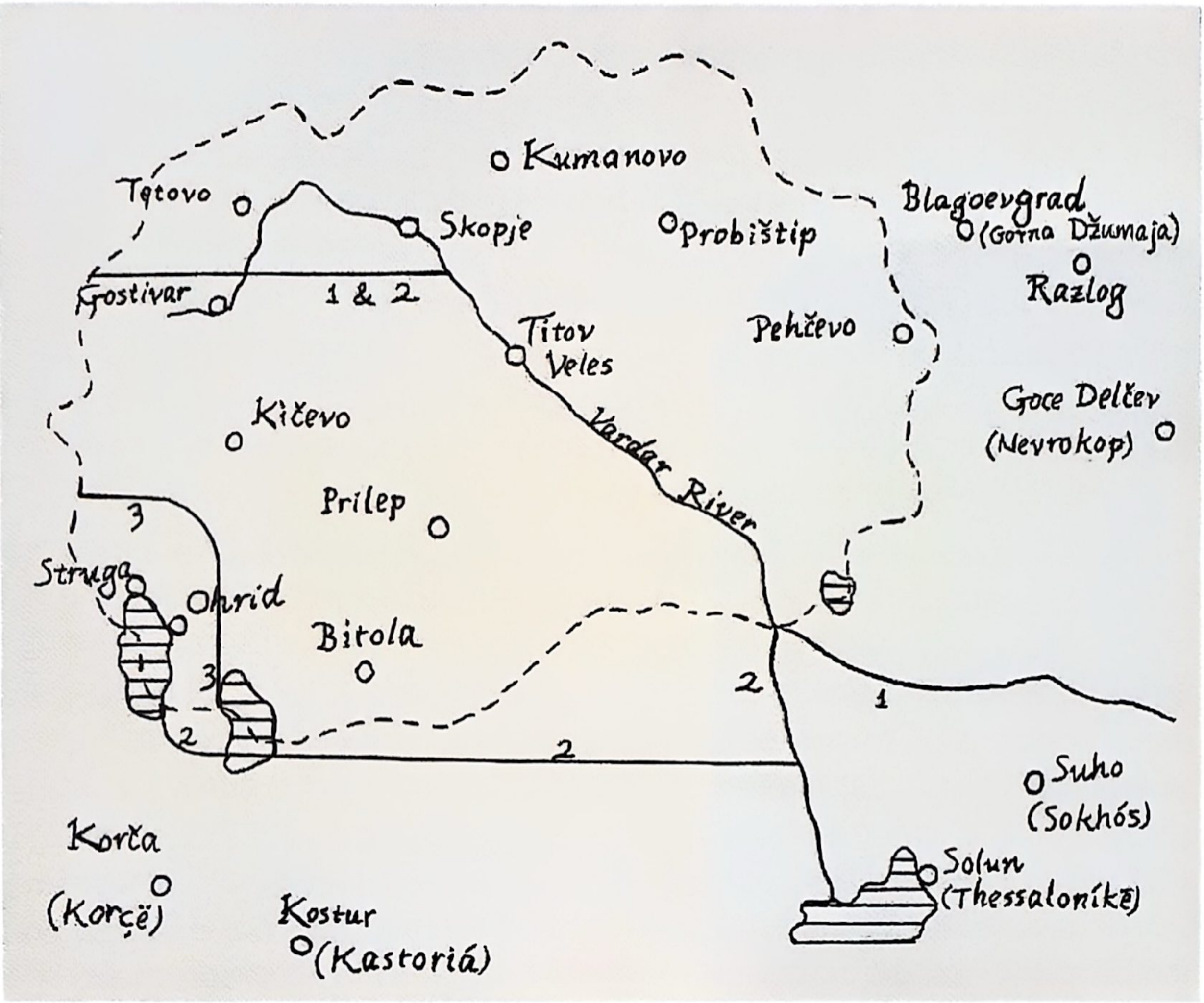
Tetovo
Kumanovo
Skopje
Probištip
Blagoevgrad
(Gorna Džumaja)
Razlog
Gostivar
1 & 2
Titov Veles
Pehčevo
Kičevo
Goce Delčev
(Nevrokop)
Vardar River
Prilep
3
Struga
Ohrid
Bitola
3
2
2
2
1
Suho
(Sokhós)
Korča
(Korçë)
Solun
(Thessaloníkē)
Kostur
(Kastoriá)

Figure 1. Map of *Ima* Series Occurrence in the Macedonian Speech Area

1. The *ima* and *imaše* perfects.
2. The *imal* perfect.
3. The forms *ima, imano, and ima bideno.*

1968: 520, Šklifov 1973: 95). In Ohrid and Struga, forms *ima bideno* 'have been' and *ima imano* 'have had' are to be found (cf. Hendriks 1976: 226). The verbs *sum* and *ima* do not have *ima* forms in the Prilep dialect nor in the literary language, and Prilep speakers are most likely to make consistent distinctions in the use of the *sum* and *ima* series. Speakers from areas further northeast of the Prilep area do not have a native feeling for the acceptable use of *ima* forms, while those from areas further southwest tend to use them more freely than would be expected in formal styles of the literary language. Figure 1 is a dialectal map of *ima* series phenomena.

4.4. *Ima* Series Versus *Sum* Series

To return to the contrast of *sum* and *ima* forms, in the following two examples, the replacement of *ima* perfects by *sum* forms would normally result in a change of meaning:

(180) Toj ima rečeno vo edna svoja kniga deka...

'He has said in one of his books that...'

(181) A, i moive [race] ne se loši, same što se so žiroj od čekanov i što se iskrastaveni of nožov što me ima isečeno. (Krle 1972: 234)

'Ah, and my [hands] aren't bad, it's only that they're callused from this hammer and scabby from this knife which has cut me.'

Example (180) is minimally marked in terms of context, i.e., it is in the third person, and it can be used to begin discourse. (Actually, *toj* 'he' would have to be replaced by a proper name, but this sentence was uttered when the person referred to by *toj* was present, and so mention of his name was unnecessary.) If *rekol* were substituted for *ima rečeno,* the hearer would automatically assume, given the unmarked context, that the speaker had not read the book and was thus asserting (on the basis of hearsay) but not confirming the statement. This example is crucial in determining that the chief contextual variant of the *sum* form is nonconfirmative. In order for *rekol* to be understood as indefinite rather than nonconfirmative, it would have to be lexically specified as such, e.g., by the insertion of *ne ednaš* 'more than once' between *toj* and *rekol* (Blaže Koneski, personal communication). Thus, the chief contextual variant of the *sum* series, which shows itself in minimally marked contexts, is *nonconfirmative.* Example (181) strengthens this point. Here, despite the first person context, native speakers felt that the substitution of a *sum* form, i.e., *isekol,* would imply nonconfirmativity, which, in view of the first person context, would be illogical and would produce an ungrammatical sentence.

The following three examples can also be used to illustrate a difference between the *ima* perfect, the *sum* series, and the simplex past:

(182) Mislam oti Gospod te ima naterano da mi pišeš, zašto denje i noḱe go imam moleno da bidam tvoja. (Krle 1940: 38)

'I think that the Lord has caused you to write to me, since I have prayed to Him day and night that I might be yours.'

(183) Toj ima diplomirano pravo. Magistrira minatata godina... Ovoj nema završeno, ako ne se lažam, ni sredno. (Osten 30 IX 73: 7)

'He has his bachelor's degree in law. He got his master's last year... This one, if I'm not mistaken, hasn't even finished high school.'

(184) Ova kuče ne gi ima samo spečeleno... Ovoj ima otepano nekogo za da dojde do ovie pari! (Krle 1972: 99)

'This dog hasn't earned it... He has killed someone to come into such money!'

In example (182), one of this author's best Prilep consultants, when asked to substitute other tense forms for the *ima* perfects, immediately supplied *nateral* and *molev*, i.e., a sum form for the third person and a simplex past for the first. Similarly, in (183), this consultant accepted *diplomira* and *završil* as substitutes for *ima diplomirano* and *ima završeno*, but did not accept *diplomiral* because it would have sounded inappropriately nonconfirmative. In the third sentence of example (183) the phrase *ako ne se lažam* 'if I'm not mistaken' makes the use of a nonconfirmative form acceptable. The use of the *ima* perfect of the verb *spečeli* 'earn' in (184) does not indicate the speaker's confirmation (he would then use a simplex form) or deduction (he would then use a *sum* form). Rather, given the context in which the sentence appears, the speaker is presenting his deduction as an established fact, as if the question of status, i.e., confirmation, were an irrelevant one. Thus the *ima* perfect does not enter into the opposition of status. It has no opposition confirmative/nonconfirmative and therefore no tinge of the contextual variant meanings of that category. This is a major factor differentiating the *ima* perfect from the *sum* series and the simplex past. The other major factor is the *ima* perfect's marking for resultativity. This marking, along with the *ima* perfect's present reference, makes it normally indefinite with respect to the past (with the exceptions noted above).

The past indefiniteness of the *ima* perfect is in the process of leading to some interesting new developments, which are in fact repetitions of apparently ancient processes, perhaps even verging on universal tendencies. Lohmann (1937: 43) has shown that the perfect's indefiniteness with respect to the past has caused it to assume a certain indefiniteness with respect to reality, and thus become a tense form denoting indirectly perceived actions. This has happened in Indo-European languages (Macedonian, Bulgarian, Tadjik) as well as in Altaic (Turkic), Uralic (Finnish, Estonian), Daghestanian (Avar, Lak), Kartvelian, and many others (Serebrennikov 1974: 206–8, Friedman 1979, 2000). It was remarked in §4.3 that in southwestern Macedonian dialects, the new *ima* perfect is already manifesting the tendency to become an unmarked past. Another tendency being manifested by the *ima* perfect is a tendency to acquire an implication of imperceptivity. While the *ima* perfect has a clear place in a hierarchy of confirmation, between the simplex past and *sum* series, as has been demonstrated above, educated native speaker reactions to some sentences using *ima* perfects indicate that, due to its statal resultative nature, i.e., its specification of the action as a *fait accompli,* it will sometimes be interpreted as implying a nonwitnessed act:

(185) MARA: (koja ima staveno na sofrata leb, grne grav, lajci, i prazna zemjena panica sega ja stavi i pogačata...) (Krle 1972: 31)

'MARA: (who has put on the table plain bread, a pot of beans, spoons, and an empty earthenware dish now also sets out the round loaf of wheat bread...)'

Example (185) is a set of stage directions in a play. The actions described have all been taking place on stage during the course of the dialogue in preparation for a meal which will be eaten on stage. And yet, when confronted with this example, a number of consultants assumed that the audience did not witness the setting of the table, but only the placing of the *pogača.* The following example illustrates a similar situation:

(186) Eve, sega imam svitkano. (Krle 1972: 37)

'There, now I've rolled (it).'

Example (186) refers to a cigarette rolled during the course of a conversation taking place after the meal referred to by (185). These consultants who felt that *ima staveno* was nonwitnessed felt that *imam svitkano* was inappropriate, since the process leading up to the result was witnessed by the addressee. These facts remain merely indications of tendencies at this point, however, and do not affect the final analysis of the distinctive feature marking of the *ima* perfect: (i) statality, (ii) resultativity, and (iii) present reference. The system devised by Jakobson (1957) and modified by Aronson (1977: 14) does not provide a category which can accommodate the perfect's basic meaning.[1] Since the perfect relates two events, the Jakobsonian categories which it resembles are *tense, taxis,* and *evidential.* But *evidential* involves a narrated speech event and is relevant only to questions of direct and indirect discourse. *Taxis* involves two narrated events, i.e., two events in the past, and excludes reference to the speech event, while *perfect* must have some reference to the present. *Tense,* on the other hand, is the category necessary to define the concept of present. It is therefore proposed that another category be added to the Jakobsonian schema: *resultativity.* In Jakobson's terms, the category can be defined as the relationship of a narrated event to another event which is defined by reference. In the case of the *ima* perfect, the other event is defined as present, i.e., there is a past narrated event and its already-accomplished result, the state of which exists contemporaneously with the speech event. Just as within the category of status the simplex past is marked as confirmative, so within the category of resultativity the *ima* perfect is marked as statal. The *ima* perfect is nonmarked for, i.e., does not enter into, the aspectual opposition imperfect/aorist nor the status opposition confirmative/nonconfirmative. While the marking for resultativity makes the *ima* perfect inherently marked for past tense, this marking is redundant and therefore need not be indicated. The important category for resultative forms, a category not marked in the nonresultative forms, is reference. Since the result of the past action is not specified as occurring at a time anterior to the speech event in the case of the *ima* perfect, it is negatively marked for reference.

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[1] Aronson (1991: 28), however, does include a category of *resultativity.*

The distinctive feature matrix now appears as in Table 8:

Table 8. Partial Distinctive Feature Matrix for the Simplex, *Sum,* and *Ima* Series

	Simplex Series			*Sum* Series		*Ima* Series
	present	imperfect	aorist	*l*-imperfect	*l*-aorist	*ima* perfect
Resultativity	–	–	–	–	–	+
Tense / Reference	–	+	+	+	+	–
Status	0	+	+	–	–	0
Aspect	0	+	–	+	–	0

Chapter 5 The Pluperfects

This chapter will cover the four rarest tense forms in the Macedonian indicative system: the *beše* series (aorist and imperfect), the *imaše* perfect, and the *imal* perfect. These forms are essentially pluperfects of one form or another.

5.1. General Observations on Pluperfects

In Jakobson's terms (1957: 4), pluperfects are marked for anterior taxis, i.e., they specify the narrated event as having occurred before some other narrated event. According to Lunt (1952: 97), the *beše* series is a past resultative and is often avoided, the prior moment being indicated by some other means, so that status (in his terms "distancing"), for which the *beše* series has no marking, can be indicated. Lunt does not offer any suggestions regarding the differentiation of the *beše* series, the *imaše* perfect, and the *imal* perfect. Koneski's (1967: 379) definition of the Macedonian pluperfect is essentially the same as Jakobson's anterior taxis, i.e., a past event is specified as occurring before some other past event:

(187) Toj beše izlegol, koga dojdov jas kaj nego. (Koneski 1967: 379)
'He had gone out when I came to his place.'

However, Koneski points out that in Macedonian the meaning of anterior taxis can often be supplied by context, in which case a marked taxic form is unnecessary (although an English pluperfect must still be used in translating):

(188) Toj izleze, koga dojdov jas kaj nego. (Koneski 1967: 379)
'He had gone out when I came to his place.'

(189) Koga se sretnavme, ne go poznav. Izrasnal, razubavel… Samo tabietot ne go izmenil. (Koneski 1967: 472)
'When I saw him I didn't recognize him. He had grown, gotten handsome… Only his character hadn't changed.'

Like Lunt, however, Koneski gives no indication as to the difference between the *beše* series and the *imaše* and *imal* perfects. A useful study of Macedonian pluperfects relates to their use in the translation of English nonprogressive pluperfects. The following table, a sort of companion to Table 7, is based on Arsova (1970: 73):

Table 9. Translation of English Pluperfects into Macedonian

	The Great Gatsby	*Great Expectations*	Total
imaše perfect	—	106	106
beše perfect	46	99	145
sum perfect	93	384	447
simplex past	154	929	1083
present	8	16	24
no correspondence	8	43	51
total	308	1576	1884

As this table shows, over eighty percent of the English pluperfects are translated by Macedonian nonpluperfects. This should demonstrate that the two pluperfects are substantially different in their usage. The so-called sequence of tenses in English is not found in Macedonian. Also, lexical devices are frequently used to indicate taxis in Macedonian, so the use of its pluperfect is considerably restricted. It is interesting to note that while there was a striking discrepancy between the use of *ima* perfects by the Prilep speaker, *beše* forms and *imaše* perfects appeared with about equal frequency. (The Skopje speaker's translation does not enter into the discussion at all, since her dialect lacks the *ima* series). Arsova (1970: 69) has suggested that the cause for the dearth of *ima* perfects is their colloquial nature, i.e., they are generally thought of as more appropriate to spoken rather than written Macedonian. Carrying this idea one step further, it could be concluded that the reason for the relative equality of occurrences of *beše* forms and *imaše* perfect is that the pluperfect is an inherently noncolloquial form. Colloquial Macedonian prefers parataxis to hypotaxis (Friedman and Gołąb 1972: 44), and pluperfects are basically hypotactic-like constructions, since they involve the subordination of one event to another. In an ordinary narration, events are described in the order of their occurrence. This could be described as a sort of temporal parataxis. When a pluperfect is used, however, events are being described out of sequence. An event occurring after the event described by the pluperfect is being focused upon, and thus the event described by the pluperfect is, in a sense, subordinated to it, e.g., *The police identified the man who had stolen the car* vs. *The man stole the car and the police identified him.* The sentence with the pluperfect has both syntactic and temporal hypotaxis, while the other sentence is syntactically and temporally paratactic. Thus any pluperfect form will sound literary by virtue of its being a pluperfect. Arsova, like Lunt and Koneski, does not suggest a possible difference between the two types of pluperfects and their Macedonian translations:

(190) ... i go prašav što napravil Herbert.
'... and asked him what Herbert had done.' (Arsova 1970: 104)

(191) Jas viknav na ženata što ja otvori portata koga vlegov.
'I called to the woman who had opened the gate when I came in.' (Arsova 1970: 82)

(192) Ne znaev kako sum go storil toa.
'I didn't know how I had done it.' (Arsova 1970: 110)

(193) Ne znaev što bev storila.
'I didn't know what I had done.' (Arsova 1970: 116)

Arsova claims that in indirect speech, as in (190), or relative clauses, as in (191), Macedonian uses *sum* and simplex past forms, respectively, and not a pluperfect. It actually appears to be the case that as long as the taxis can be obtained from context, Macedonian does not ordinarily use marked taxic forms. Examples (192) and (193) show that a nontaxic form is readily substituted for a taxic one, provided that the context is clear. Example (60) in chapter 2, which is cited again here, is another instance where the context permits the use of a simplex form in a clearly taxic relationship:

(60) Koga go vidov Mišo vo šest saatot, toj veḱe gi kupi kartite.
'When I saw Mišo at six o'clock, he had already bought the tickets.'

5.2. The *Beše* Series

The *beše* series is marked for past tense and anterior taxis and unmarked for statal resultativity. It does not enter into the opposition of status, and can have both imperfect and aorist aspects. In Prilep (Koneski 1949: 294) *beše* forms are formed mostly from perfective verbs in negative clauses. Nevertheless, one can obtain, for example, a *beše* imperfect by substitution:[1]

(194) Do dvanaesetata godina sum pravel/bev pravel mnogu gluposti.
'Until I was twelve I did/used to do many foolish things.'

The use of an English pluperfect would not sound good here. In Macedonian, however, the action is conceived of as prior to the attainment of the age of twelve, which is itself a past act. The main point of example (194) is that it is possible to find a *sum* form in a sufficiently taxic context and to substitute a *beše* form of the appropriate aspect. Therefore, the same imperfect/aorist aspectual opposition to be found in the simplex past and *sum* series holds good for the *beše* series.

The following examples show *beše* forms in actual use:

(195) Znači, izleze deka kaj Magruder malku zadocniv, zašto toj beše rešil sè de im kaže na istražuvačite. Rešil da bide čist. (N. M. 24 VI 74: 5)
'Well, as it turns out, I was just a little late in talking to Magruder, because he had just come back from telling [literally, had decided to tell] everything to the U.S. Attorney. He has decided to come clean.' (W. H. 1974: 407)

(196) Tukušto završivme patot vo Moskva. Demokratite tukušto bea nominirale Makgavern. Mislam, (ispušten zbor) što rabotea tie luǵe? (N. M. 16 VI 74: 5)
'We had just finished the Moscow trip. The Democrats had just nominated McGovern. I mean, (expletive deleted) what in hell were these people doing?' (W. H. 1974: 139)

(197) Veḱe celiot amerikanski pečat pišuvaše za obvinenijata na 'provalnikot' Džems Makord koj tvrdeše deka Džon Din i Džeb Magruder znaele za podgotvuvanjeto na provalata. Nešto se beše naučilo i za podocnešnoto prikrivuvanje na aferata. (N. M. 20 VI 74: 5)
'The entire American press was already writing about "burglar" James McCord's accusations that John Dean and Jeb Magruder knew about the preparations for the break-in. Something had also been learned about the later cover-up of the affair.'

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[1] As in other series, the perfective *beše* imperfect is modal (Ivanov 1932: 91). Additional examples of *beše* imperfects are to be found in the appendix.

Example (195) is a clear example of anterior taxis. Magruder's decision preceded Ehrlichman's arrival. In (196), the choice of simplex past versus *beše* form does not appear to be motivated grammatically. Either form is acceptable because the context makes the anteriority clear. In (197) the entire example describes conditions which had already come to pass by the time of the meeting between Nixon, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Ziegler from 11:10 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. on March 27, 1973. The writing was begun before the meeting but was still going on when it occurred, while the learning was a discrete act which occurred before the meeting; hence the imperfect *pišuvaše* 'was writing' but the *beše* aorist *se beše naučilo* 'had been learned'.[2]

5.3. The *Imaše* Perfect

The question now arises as to the distinction between the *beše* series and the *imaše* and *imal* perfects. One important difference is that the *beše* series does not enter into any status opposition, while the latter two, as will be seen below, do. The most important factor in differentiating the two sets of forms, however, is the fact that the *ima* series is marked for statal resultativity, while the *beše* series is an unmarked member of that opposition, along with the fact that the *beše* series is marked for taxis, while, with the *imaše* perfect and *imal* perfect, marking for past reference and statal resultativity makes the marking for taxis unnecessary. Either the *imaše* perfect or the *imal* perfect can be used to describe a past resultative state, i.e., a state in the past which has occurred as the result of some other, anterior, past action. This definition, which can be deduced simply from the marking for past reference and resultativity, makes taxis an irrelevant category for the *ima* series. The principal distinction which must be made is between the *beše* series and the *imaše* perfect.

The following two examples must clearly show the distinction between the two types of pluperfect:

(198) Žiži mi ja pokaža Keti, no jas veḱe ja...

a. ... bev videl.

b. ... imav videno.

'Žiži pointed Keti out to me, but I had already seen her.'

It is interesting to observe the process by which the differentiation in the meanings of these examples was arrived at. I proposed sentence (198b) to

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[2] McCord's accusation (*tvrdeše*) was directly affecting the March 27 meeting, i.e., it is presented as lasting from the time of its utterance at least up through the meeting. Hence it too is imperfect.

Liljana Minova-Ǵurkova, a native of Prilep with family connections to Ohrid and also the best linguist of her generation. She rejected it, saying that only (198a) was acceptable. This posed a problem which we discussed until the consultant suddenly said that if the speaker had seen Keti, for instance, earlier that day or week, as opposed to seeing her just before Žiži did at that moment on the street, which was the only interpretation she had made until that moment, then (198b) would be acceptable and, in fact, the preferred sentence. Thus the difference between the *beše* pluperfect and the *imaše* perfect, aside from the former's marking for aspect and the latter's for status, is as follows: the *beše* pluperfect is marked strictly for anterior taxis, i.e., the (onto) logical relation between two narrated events, while the *imaše* perfect is marked for past statal resultativity, i.e., it describes a past act as a state resulting from some previous act. The *beše* series expresses a syntactic form of anteriority in context, while the *imaše* perfect describes a past resultative state, i.e., the *beše* series describes a past act occurring before another past act, while the *imaše* perfect describes a past state resulting from some anterior past act. The fact that taxis is usually expressed contextually or lexically rather than grammatically is an additional argument for the resultative nature of the *ima* series. The following additional examples of Macedonian pluperfects show that *beše* forms are preferred when pure taxis is involved and *ima* forms are preferred when resultativity is present:

(199) Cvetot imaše dobieno nekoja čudna tvrdina vo svojata bezbojnost. (Jačev 1973: 14)

'The flower had received some kind of strange firmness in its colorlessness.'

In the foregoing example, native consultants felt that the substitution of a *beše* form for the *imaše* perfect would be inappropriate. The situation is clearly statal, and it was thus felt that the marked statal resultative is more appropriate. On the other hand, the *beše* pluperfect was felt to be more appropriate for the following example:

(200) E, sum čul maži kade peat, ami vakvo ubavo peenje—vakov glas ne bev čul! (Krle 1970: 190)

'Eh, I've heard men sing, but such beautiful singing, such a voice, I hadn't heard!'

The sentence is uttered immediately after the singing. This is an instance of purely temporal taxis, i.e., prior to the past act of singing, the speaker had not heard such a voice. While some speakers said that *bev čul* was preferable to *imav čueno*, others went so far as to say that *imav čueno* would be ungrammatical, because the *beše* form is juxtaposing two events, while the *imaše* perfect would show the result of one past event in a later past, i.e., one closer to the present. In the following example, the use of the *imaše* perfect affects the context which would be deduced from the utterance:

(201) Mito veḱe gi imaše kupeno kartite vo šest saatot.
'Mito had already bought the tickets at six o'clock.'

Here the use of the *imaše* perfect places the emphasis on the fact that the tickets had already been bought, e.g., despite the fact that the speaker had already seen the film and did not want to go again, it was too late, because Mito had already bought the tickets. To stress the fact that by six o'clock the tickets had already been bought, e.g., despite the fact that the show did not start until ten o'clock, a *sum* form, *kupil*, would be used, since the context makes the specification of anteriority by the use of a *beše* pluperfect unnecessary. Thus, the difference between the *imaše* perfect and *beše* pluperfect rests on the former's marking for past statal resultativity and the latter's marking for anterior taxis.

5.4. The *Imal* Perfect

The distinction between the *imaše* perfect and the *imal* perfect is the last remaining problem. The major difficulty encountered in the analysis of *imal* forms is the difficulty in encountering them. Usikova (1973: 278), in reading over 500 pages of texts by nine authors, as well as various issues of *Nova Makedonija*, did not encounter a single *imal* perfect. Lunt's two examples (1952: 99) are invented. Koneski gives three literary examples in his grammar (1967: 506), and two more occur in his study of the Prilep dialect (1949: 298). This author found very few additional examples. Nevertheless, it is possible to arrive at some conclusions on the basis of these examples and other sentences which were checked with native consultants. The *imal* perfect appears to be limited to reported speech (Koneski 1967: 506):

(202) Velat deka toj mnogupati imal rešavano za takvi raboti.
'They say that he has often worked on such matters.' (Lunt 1952: 99)

(203) Toj imal rešeno, velat, da ne dojde veḱe vamu.

'They say that he has decided not to come here anymore.'

(Lunt 1952: 99)

(204) Pustiot Selman-Aga imal sobrano Arnauti za da te grabne. I Debrani i Mokrani! Čovek dojde kaža, mori eeej! (Krle 1972: 167)

'That cursed Selman-Aga has gathered Albanians in order to kidnap you. Both from Debar and from Mokra! A man came and said so, oi oi oi!'

(205) No posle, kako što ti kažav, dojde eden čovek i kaža, deka, Selman-Aga imal sobrano doma si Arnauti da ja grabi. (Krle 1972: 173)

'But afterwards, as I told you, a man came and said that Selman-Aga had gathered Albanians at his home in order to kidnap her.'

The first sentence in example (204) is one of Koneski's three (1967: 506); his other two examples are also single sentences out of context, but Koneski says that their meaning is reported. The examples from Koneski's study of the Prilep dialect (1949: 298) are not, strictly speaking, in literary Macedonian. However, in view of the paucity of examples of *imal* perfects, and in view of the fact that the Prilep dialect of these examples is the major source for the Macedonian literary language and the fact that these particular examples differ from literary Macedonian mainly in their phonology, and not at all in their syntax and semantics, I have decided to present them as they appear in Koneski's work:

(206) ... i doktoro velel oti ako beše nekoj neranet uše na operacija ke umreše, oti dosega nemal prajno vakva operacija...

(Koneski 1949: 298)

'... and the doctor said that if it had been some ill-fed person, he would have died during the operation, that he hadn't performed the operation before...'

(207) ... a Vasile mi reče samo 50 leva imal dajno Koce i mu rekov da dojdi i pa nedojde. (Koneski 1949: 298)

'... but Vasile told me that Koce had paid only 50 levs, and I told him to come but he didn't come.'

The first part of the one journalistic example found by this author was given in chapter 3 as example (154). The entire sentence is given here:

(208) Taka Musli Liman od s. Dolno Palčište ni objasni deka negovite piperki se zdravi (iako damkite bea vidlivi) zašto okolu negovata niva nemalo zasadeno pčenica koja, spored nego, go zadušuva korenot na piperkata. (Počinka 20 X 73: 10)

'Thus Musli Liman from the village of Dolno Palčište explained to us that his peppers were healthy enough (although the spots were visible) because around his field there had not been sown wheat, which, according to him, choked the pepper's roots.'

The English translation has been left in a somewhat awkward form in order to convey the flavor of the Macedonian original. *Nemalo zasadeno* is an impersonal construction, since *pčenica* 'wheat' is the direct object and *Musli Liman* is the agent but not the subject. *Nema* 'it hasn't' also means 'there isn't any'. Native speakers agreed that *nemalo zasadeno* was being used as a reported form, but they could not agree on whether Musli Liman's original words were *nema zasadeno* or *nemaše zasadeno.* Apparently the *imal* perfect can replace the *ima* perfect or the *imaše* perfect, but only under certain special conditions. In chapter 3 (pp. 63–65), it was shown that the *sum* series could be substituted for the present only when it was used in a report and the overt verb of reporting was deleted, while the replacement of the simplex past by the *sum* series involved a change of status which meant that the action was not being confirmed by the speaker and therefore often implied that the source of his knowledge was indirect. Similarly, the *imal* perfect can be substituted for the *ima* perfect only when reported speech is involved, while its substitution for the *imaše* perfect involves a change of status which almost always results in the action's being understood as reported. The *ima* perfect occurs freely in reported speech:

(209) Ni beše kažano deka nekoi naši rabotnici go imaat videno momčeto na železničkata stanica vo Minhen. (Počinka 1 VI 74: 23)

'We were told that some of our workers had seen the boy at the Munich railroad station.'

(210) Akik Akiki od s. Rasadište reče deka vo planinskite sela bolesta nema zemeno zamav i deka zatoa negovite piperki se zdravi. (Počinka 20 X 73: 10–11)

'Akik Akiki from the village of Rasadište said that the disease had not hit the mountain villages and that therefore his peppers were healthy.'

On the other hand, the positive and negative markings for confirmative status in the auxiliaries of the *imaše* perfect and the *imal* perfect affect the contexts in which they can occur:

(211) *Jas vidov kako Živko go imal napraveno toa.
'I saw that how Živko has/had done it.'

(212) *Risto tvrdi deka Kočo i Trajče navodno ja imaa svršeno rabotata.
'Risto claims that Kočo and Trajče had allegedly finished the job.'

In example (211), the use of an *imal* perfect is unacceptable because the action described was witnessed by the speaker, while in (212), the explicitly nonconfirmative nature of the statement renders the use of the *imaše* perfect, which has an confirmative auxiliary and is used only for witnessed events, unacceptable.[3] It is evident that the minus confirmative marking of the *imal* perfect, combined with its positive markings for past reference and resultativity, has the effect of causing the *sum* form auxiliary's *Hauptbedeutung*, nonconfirmativeness, to be the only possible meaning for the *imal* perfect. Thus a first person *imal* perfect can be used if the speaker is not confirming a statement he is making about himself, which is a highly marked situation:

(213) Veli sum imal zemeno mnogu pari.
'He says I've taken lots of money.'

(214) Trajanica reče deka jas sum imala napraveno nekolku greški.
'Trajan's wife said that I made several mistakes.'

(215) Jas sum go imal napraveno toa?!
'They say I did that?!'

(216) Što znam, možebi sum go imal storeno.
'Who knows, maybe I have done it.'

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[3] Examples of *navodno* with the *imaše* perfect can now be found in the press and on the internet (see Petroska 2012: 147). This is apparently part of a general tendency for the *ima* series to replace the *sum* series as the unmarked past, as has happened in the extreme southwest. Petroska (personal communication) reports finding no examples of *navodno* with the *beše* series, which may be due to its general tendency to obsolescence and replacement by the *imaše* perfect. In 2008–9, some younger speakers from neighborhoods in Skopje where Macedonian is a minority language did not recognize such verb forms at all, although their Macedonian was fluent and grammatical.

Examples (213) through (216) were supplied by native speakers when they were asked to provide examples of first person *imal* perfects. Examples (213) through (215) imply the speaker's doubt or disbelief of the statement, for if he were to agree with it he would use the *ima* perfect, which has no marking for status. In (216) the speaker has been told that he has done something, and while he does not remember it and is not willing to vouch for it, he acknowledged, albeit grudgingly, the possibility that he did it by using the *imal* perfect. Thus the *imal* form's nonspecification for direct knowledge becomes a specification for indirect knowledge, in contrast to the *ima* perfect, which is neither specified nor nonspecified, and in contrast to the *imaše* perfect, which is specified for direct knowledge. All the *imal* examples cited thus far have been clearly reported; the following sentence was devised in an attempt to test a nonwitnessed nonreported *imal* perfect:

(217) Mislam deka Selman-Aga imal sobrano Arnauti da te grabne.
'I think that (they say that) Selman-Aga had/(has) gathered Albanians in order to kidnap you.'

According to native consultants, the meaning of this sentence is quite restricted. It cannot be used as a supposition about an actual event in the recent past affecting the near future. It can be used only as a supposition about the report of such an event, i.e., 'I think that they say that Selman-Aga has gathered...', or else it is a kind of modal, describing an action which might have occurred at some time in the past but which did not and also cannot come to pass, i.e., 'I think that Selman-Aga had gathered...'. So either the sentence is a report that someone thinks that someone else has said that Selman-Aga has made preparations to kidnap the girl, or it is a statement that he had made such preparations, perhaps, but it is no longer possible for the kidnapping to be accomplished. This is an example of the pluperfect's encroaching upon modality.

The nature of the *imal* perfect appears to be the following: since the *imal* form is marked as +past and +resultative, the situation arises whereby it must always refer to two items in the past, i.e., a past event and its later but past resulting state, although it is not marked for taxis. The effect of these conditions is that the marking –status takes on a special significance. The *Hauptbedeutung* of a –status form is nonconfirmative. The most common meaning of nonconfirmative is reported. In the case of the *imal* perfect, an event occurs in the past resulting in a report of that event which report is itself ontologically past when referred to by an *imal* form, e.g.:

(218) a. Selman-Aga sobira Arnauti.
'Selman-Aga gathers Albanians.'

(218) b. Selman-Aga ima sobrano Arnauti.
'Selman-Aga has gathered Albanians.'
c. Selman-Aga imal sobrano Arnauti.
'They say/said Selman-Aga has gathered Albanians.'

Example (218a) is past event; (218b) is a witness's statement of that event; (218c) is a statement that a report has been made, necessarily before the report.[4] Thus the *imal* perfect refers to the past result (i.e., the past report) of an anterior past event, but since it is not marked for taxis, the marking –status becomes, in essence, a marking for reportedness. If as in the second interpretation of (217), the *imal* perfect refers to two past events neither of which is a report, i.e., there is a second past event which is understood as coming between Selman-Aga's gathering and the moment of speech, then the *imal* form can be used for nonconfirmative but nonreported, i.e., past resultativity.

At this time, it would be possible to give a complete distinctive feature matrix for the grammatical categories of the Macedonian indicative. Such a matrix, however, will be given in the concluding chapter, where an analysis of the implications of the completed matrix is appropriate.

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[4] It should be noted that (218b) is not marked for witnessing. The witnessing is deduced from the context, i.e., (218b) is contextually witnessed, just as (209) and (210) are contextually reported.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This chapter has three goals. First, it summarizes the arguments that have been made in the preceding chapters and gives a complete account of the Macedonian indicative system. Second, it gives a brief overview of how the most salient verbal categories of Macedonian can be compared to those in other Balkan languages, including Turkish, Romani, and Judezmo.[1] The third goal of this chapter is to provide the reader with references to subsequent relevant work. As it has turned out, in the course of the decades following the publication of the first edition of this book, many of the problems adduced in this chapter as requiring further research became the focus of my subsequent research. Rather than attempting to completely rewrite the chapter, however, I have chosen instead to provide references to subsequent research. In this way, the current chapter provides both a guide to the answers to many of the questions raised here, but it also gives the reader a sense of how the field has changed in the course of the past three or four decades.

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[1] Although Sandfeld (1930: 3) excluded both Romani and Judezmo from consideration as Balkan languages, in addition to treating Turkish as an adstrate rather than participant, current approaches recognize these all these languages as being part of Balkan linguistics proper (Friedman 2006c). Beginning with Kostov 1963, 1973, Uhlik 1973, and Friedman 1985b, the Balkan linguistic nature of the dialects of Romani spoken in the Balkans is now well established. See now also Friedman 2006a as well as Boretzky and Igla 1999, 2004, Bochmann 1999, Matras 1994, 2002, and Elšík and Matras 2006. Moreover, the participation of Balkan Turkish dialects, especially the West Rumelian dialects, is also now well established. See especially Friedman 2003a, 2006b and Matras and Tufan 2007. With regard to Judezmo, much work remains to be done. Most studies of Judezmo examine it either as a Romance language or as a Jewish language rather than examining the specific developments in those dialects spoken in the Balkans. In his now classic work, Joseph (1983: 252–53) examined Judezmo infinitives and found little evidence of Balkanization. Later research, however, has revealed that even here Balkan Judezmo replaces infinitives in some constructions where non-Balkan dialects would not (Friedman 2006c, Symeonides 2002). See also Varol 2001 on evidentials and Friedman 2008 on object reduplication. For general considerations, see Friedman and Joseph 2014.

6.1. The Macedonian Indicative

The semantic structure of the Macedonian indicative system can be summed up in the distinctive feature matrix and represented graphically by the diagram in Table 10 on p. 103 and Figure 2 on p. 104.

As can be seen, the categories of resultativity, tense, and reference are most important for the system. Resultativity sets the *ima* series apart from all the other tense forms. This would appear to be consistent with the fact that the *ima* series is the latest addition to the system and that it is the series which plays a major role in differentiating Macedonian from the neighboring Slavic languages. As was observed in chapter 4, positive marking for resultativity makes positive marking for tense redundant; thus, while tense is the next differentiating factor for the nonresultative forms, reference is the next category for the resultatives. Since reference is found only in marked resultative forms, performing essentially the same distinguishing function as tense for the nonresultatives, the two catgories may be treated together as they are in the matrix and diagram. For both the resultatives and non-resultatives, those forms positively marked for tense/reference are also marked for status and/or taxis, while those forms not so marked do not enter into any further oppositions. The resultative past forms have only the further opposition of status, while the nonresultative past forms are differentiated by taxis, and those negatively marked for taxis are then differentiated by status. Aspect is at the bottom of the hierarchy, and all nonresultative past forms enter into that opposition. It would seem appropriate that aspect occupies this position in the hierarchy, since the category does occur elsewhere in the verbal system. Regardless of the realtionship of the opposition perfective/imperfective aspect to questions of inflection, derivation, and lexicon, the fact remains that there are at least two kinds of aspect, perfective/imperfective and aorist/imperfect, affecting the verbal system, and one manner of keeping them distinct would be their placement at opposite ends of the hierarchy.

A review of the categories of the Macedonian indicative as described in this work will now be given. The tense forms which constitute the Macedonian indicative can be divided into four series: the simplex, the *sum*, the *beše*, and the *ima*. The *ima* series is the only one positively marked for resultativity, while the *beše* is the only one positively marked for taxis. The simplex series contains three tense forms: the present, the aorist, and the imperfect. The present is the only tense form in the system unmarked for tense or reference. The only other opposition it enters into is that of resultativity, for which it is also unmarked. The present can be substituted for any of the other tense forms by means of the so-called historical present. The simplex aorist and imperfect are both marked for past tense and confirmative status. It was shown

Table 10. Distinctive Feature Matrix of the Categories of the Macedonian Indicative

Grammatical Category	Opposition										
		Simplex Series			*Sum* Series		*Beše* series		*Ima* series		
		present	imperfect	aorist	*l*-imperfect	*l*-aorist	*beše* impf.	*beše* aor.	*ima* prf.	*imaše* prf.	*imal* prf.
Resultativity	Statal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
Tense / Reference	Past	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
Taxis	Anterior	0	–	–	–	–	+	+	0	0	0
Status	Confirmative	0	+	+	–	–	0	0	0	+	–
Aspect	Durative	0	+	–	+	–	+	–	0	0	0

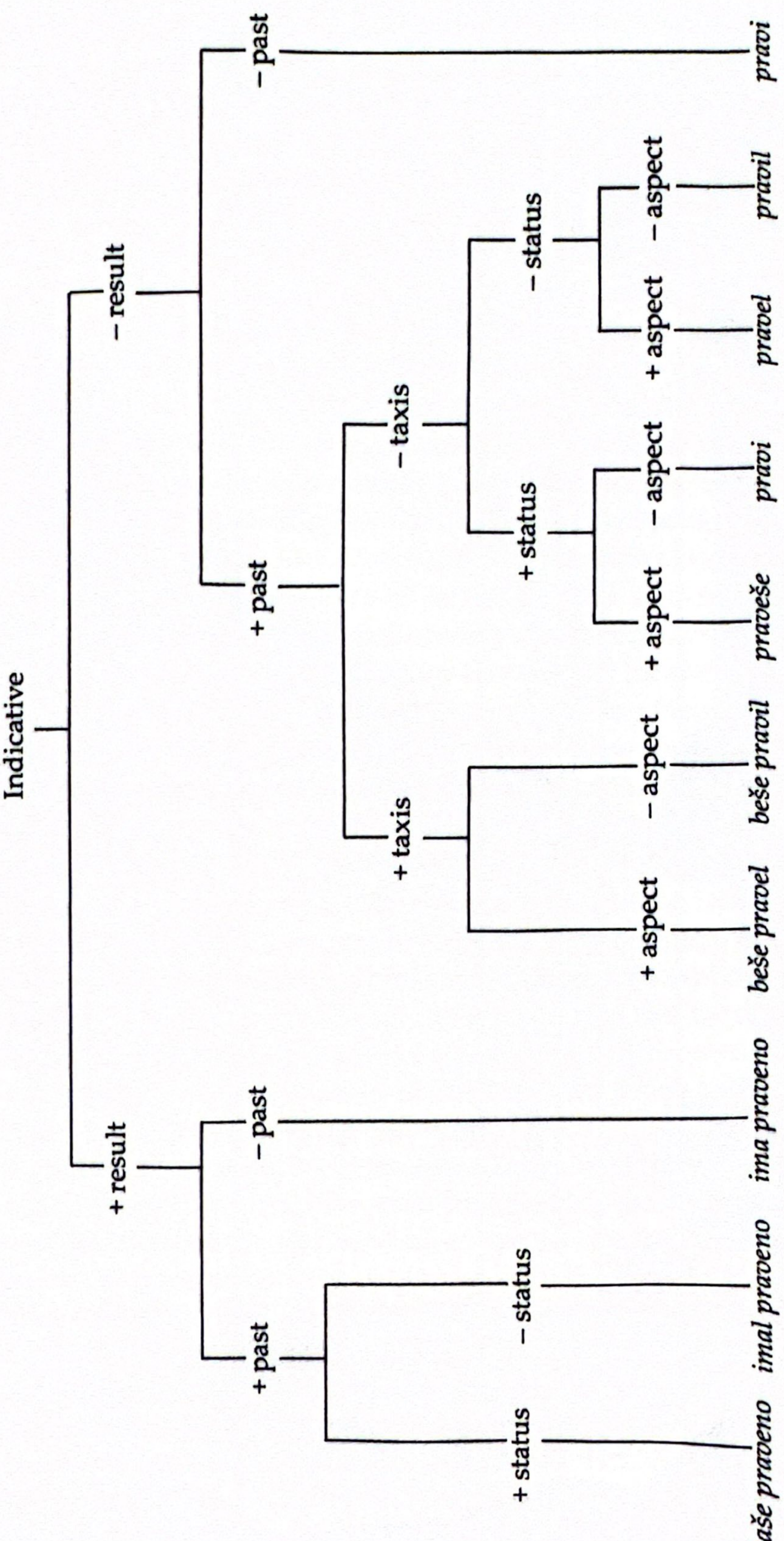
Indicative
+ result
− result
+ past
− past
+ past
− past
+ status
− status
+ taxis
− taxis
+ status
− status
+ aspect
− aspect
+ aspect
− aspect
+ aspect
− aspect
imaše praveno
imal praveno
ima praveno
beše pravel
beše pravil
praveše
pravi
pravel
pravil
pravi

Figure 2. Diagram of the Distinctive Feature Matrix

that coordination is a variant of durativity but not the basic meaning of the imperfect, and that the durativity was not necessarily unlimited. An important example was (40), which is cited again here:

(40) Vo Bitola denes, točno vo 5,17 časot e počustvuvan zemjotres od poslab intenzitet što traeše samo edna sekunda. (Dejanova 1966: 58)

'In Bitola today at exactly 5:17 a.m. an earthquake of weaker intensity lasting only one second was felt.'

The positive marking for confirmative status is the feature distinguishing the simplex past from the *sum* series. Example (72) demonstrates the markedness of the simplex past by showing a context in which it cannot occur, viz. subordinated to a verb whose meaning contradicts the idea of confirmation:

(72) *Ne go gledam trupot; zatoa ne veruvam deka Vančo i kokoskata go izvršija zlostorstvoto.

'I don't see the corpse; therefore I don't believe that Vančo and the chicken committed the crime.'

Example (70) was a particularly clear example of the difference between the simplex past and the *sum* series:

(70) Sirenite i denes dvapati se oglasile vo Kairo, no žitelite na egipetskata prestolnina nemaa nikakva pričina za zagriženost. (N. M. 16 X 73: 1)

'The sirens sounded twice again today in Cairo, but the citizens of the Egyptian capital had no cause for concern.'

The first clause, with an unmarked past tense form, is a statement of objective fact, while the second clause, with a marked confirmative past tense form, represents the speaker's personal assurance.

The demonstration of the fact that the *sum* series is the unmarked past was finished by showing that no basic meaning which has been or could be suggested for the *sum* series, viz. distanced, resultative, indefinite, reported, nonwitnessed, or nonconfirmative, can account for all of its uses. Since a basic meaning cannot be assigned to the *sum* series, it must be the unmarked past. The use of the *sum* series in various kinds of reported speech was then treated. It was shown that the *sum* series really is marked for past tense rather than being unmarked, as has sometimes been suggested. While a statement in the present tense can be transformed into a *sum* form when rendered as reported speech, this transformation is not obligatory. When it does take place, the *sum* tense form can be said to agree with the ontological pastness of the original statement or with an abstract verb of reporting meaning 'said'. The fact that *sum* forms cannot be used to report statements made in the present when subordinated to verbs in the future, as in (136), is an additional argument that the *sum* series is marked for past tense:[2]

(136) *Lidija ḱe reče deka ne znaela.

'Lidija will say that she doesn't know.'

Since *reported* functions as a contextual variant of the *sum* series, it is possible to delete both the verb of reporting and the subordinating conjunction and still have indirect rather than the semi-indirect discourse which would result from such deletions in many other European languages. In Macedonian, shifting person for indirect discourse without shifting status has the effect of producing semi-indirect discourse, as was shown in example (150a):

(150) a. Toj me praša dali bev vo Ohrid.

'He asked me was I in Ohrid.'

The *sum* series's contextual variants of dubitativity and admirativity can be shown to arise from its contextual variant meaning of reportedness. In Macedonian, the dubitative use of the *sum* series occurs only for the sarcastic repetition of another statement, i.e., it always refers to a past act. Thus the dubitative is a subset of the reported variant meaning of the *sum* series. It can be argued that the admirative is a marked, emotive use of the dubitative. Just as in English one can express surprise by saying *I can't believe!*, so in Macedonian one can express surprise in a manner otherwise reserved for disbelief.

The basic concepts of the *ima* series were investigated with respect to the *ima* perfect. The *ima* perfect is marked for statal resultativity and unmarked for past reference. So it refers to a present state resulting from a past action. Because of its present reference, the *ima* perfect is not ordinarily bound to a definite past time adverb. In those cases when it does occur with such an adverb, it has the modal meaning of a deduction. It was also shown that, while the *ima* perfect does not enter into the opposition of status, its interaction with the *sum* series helps define the *Hauptbedeutung* of the latter, viz. *nonconfirmative*.

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[2] Another argument is the fact that admirative usage cannot take the future marker *ḱe* but rather can only be used in reference to a pre-existing state or past speech event. Thus, upon seeing the sky suddenly cloud over, one cannot exclaim *ḱe vrnelo* 'It is/was going to rain'. Rather, *ḱe vrnelo* can only be used as a dubitative or reported of the future *ḱe vrne* or the anterior future *ḱe vrneše*.

The two types of pluperfects were shown to be the *beše* series, which is marked for (nonresultative) anterior taxis, and the *imaše* and *imal* perfects, which are marked for past statal resultativity. Marking for anterior taxis specifies that the narrated event precedes some other past action, while marking for past resultativity indicates that the verb describes the past result of an anterior past action, i.e., the marking is for past tense (inherent in the marking for resultativity) and past reference. Example (198) illustrated the essence of the difference between the two pluperfects:

(198) Žiži mi ja pokaža Keti, no jas veḱe ja…

a. … bev videl.

b. … imav videno.

'Žiži pointed Keti out to me, but I had already seen her.'

Example (198a) means the speaker had seen Keti just before Žiži did, while (198b) could be used only in the case that the speaker had seen Keti at some earlier time, e.g., last week. While the *beše* series does not enter into any status opposition, the *imaše* and *imal* perfects are differentiated from one another by positive and negative marking for status. The result of a status opposition in these two most highly marked tense forms in the system is that the most common contextual variant meanings of nonresultative past tense forms with a status opposition, i.e., witnessed/reported, become virtually the only meanings for the resultative past forms. So the *imaše* perfect is used for witnessed actions, while the *imal* perfect is used for reported ones. As a result, sentences such as (211) and (212) are ungrammatical:

(211) *Jas vidov kako Žifko go imal napraveno toa.

'I saw that/how Žifko has/had done it.'

(212) *Risto tvrdi deka Kočo i Trajče navodno ja imaa svršeno rabotata.

'Risto claims that Kočo and Trajče allegedly finished the job.'

Examples (211) and (212) would be acceptable with a *sum* form and a simplex past, but not as they stand. Two additional observations on the *imal* perfect are needed to complete this part of the conclusion. One is that the *imal* perfect may be used for a deduction about an action in the past rather than a report in the case that it is no longer possible for the event to come to pass, i.e., a nonreported use of the *imal* perfect would be modal. The other note is on the pluperfect nature of the *imal* perfect. Although the *imal* perfect is usually translated by an English present perfect, and although it can be used where *ima* perfect might otherwise be expected, it is nevertheless a pluperfect form, since it contains reference to two past events, viz. a past state and the ontologically past report of that state.

6.2. Other South Slavic and Balkan Indicative Systems

The system of the literary Macedonian indicative has now been summarized. The survey of indicative systems in other languages of the Balkans will begin with literary Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian. Of the two, Bulgarian resembles Macedonian more closely. Both languages have the same set of simplex forms and *beše* forms,[3] but here the similarity ends, and the subsequent divergences create uncertainty even with regard to morphologically identical forms. There are three major differences: (i) literary Bulgarian has three paradigmatic sets using *săm* and the *l*-form, which is actually a participle; (ii) Bulgarian can use the *l*-imperfect of *săm* (*bil*) as an auxiliary; and (iii) literary Bulgarian does not have a set of *ima* forms. As has been seen in chapters 3 and 5, the Macedonian unmarked past has a chief contextual variant meaning of reportedness. In Bulgarian, however, the unmarked past (often called the perfect) and the reported have two different paradigms, the latter being differentiated from the former by the absence of the third person auxiliary in both numbers.[4] (In Macdonian, there is no auxiliary in the third person *sum* forms.) The occurrence of the *l*-imperfect with the third person auxiliary in Bulgarian is rather problematical. Since this difficulty is specific to Bulgarian and has no direct bearing on Macedonian, it will simply be observed that this form occurs not infrequently and can be found in the writings of the foremost Bulgarian scholars (cf. Aronson 1967: 91n; Maslov 1956: 223n, 288, 250; Andrejčin 1944: 278). The reported/nonreported distinction carries over into the Bulgarian pluperfect (corresponding to the Macedonian *beše* series) by means of the auxiliary *bil*. The use of a reported auxiliary with a reported *săm* form produces a special

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[3] The status of the Bulgarian *beše* imperfect, however, is quite unclear (v. Andrejčin 1938: 46; 1944: 244–47; Maslov 1956: 240–41; Părvev 1975: 222–23, 230, 247, 250). In accordance with Părvev's explicit statement (1975: 223), the *beše* imperfect will not be included under the heading Bulgarian in the table of regularly occurring forms which follows. The *beše* imperfct is not mentioned in the Bulgarian Academy grammar (Stojanov 1983) nor in Bojadžiev, Kucarov, and Penčev 1998, nor in Nicolova 2008 and is likewise absent from Guentchéva 1996. See now especially Friedman 1986, which addresses these questions on the basis of actual field work as opposed to prescriptive grammars.

[4] See now Friedman 2002a.

Bulgarian category, the dubitative. The aorist dubitative is completely homonymous with the reported pluperfect, as in the following example:

(219) Sene bil čel knigata.
  a. 'Sene had read the book, they say.'
  b. 'They say Sene read the book, hah.'

The question of dubitativity in connection with Macedonian *sum* forms has been dealt with in chapter 3. Suffice it to say that dubitatives do not constitute a separate morphological category in Macedonian. The Bulgarian *l*-participle, unlike the Macedonian *l*-form, can be used attributively. Thus, e.g., Bulgarian can have *minali dni* 'past days', whereas Macedonian can have only *minati dni,* using the verbal adjective (Dimitrovski 1968: 6).

Although literary Bulgarian has a number of modifications of the *l*-form not found in Macedonian, it does not possess an *ima* series like that of Macedonian. There is a construction using the present of the verb *ima* and the past passive participle (Macedonian's verbal adjective), but in this construction, the participle agrees in gender and number with the direct object. Also, since the Bulgarian participle retains its passive meaning, it cannot be formed from intransitive verbs. Aside from these very important differences, the nature and position of this construction in the Bulgarian literary language is still undetermined. Although it occurs in the dialects of Thrace and Strandža (Bojadžiev 1968 and Gorov 1962: 59), its status as a separate form in the literary language ranges from marginal at best (Georgiev 1957: 31) to nonexistent (Teodorov-Balan 1957: 27).[5] The meaning of the construction is also in dispute. Those who advocate it as a verbal form would argue that the following sentence has two meanings:

(220) Toj ima izorani dve nivi.
  a. 'He has two fields plowed.' or 'He has plowed two fields.'
  b. 'He has two plowed fields.'

Penčev (1968: 175) uses the following trees to account for the two meanings:

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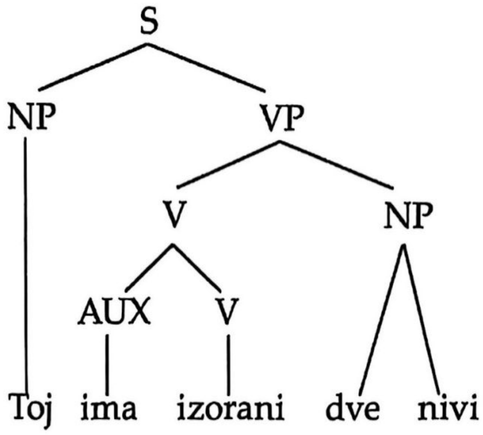
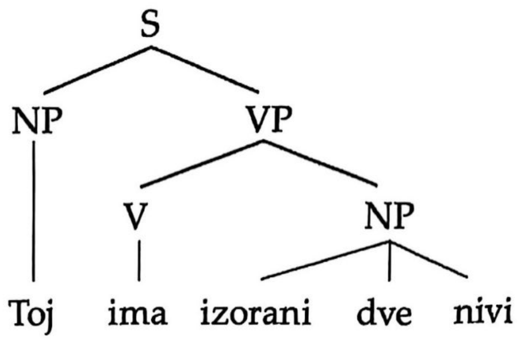
[5] Bojadžiev (1991: 93–94) notes that in Western Thrace only transitive verbs can be used, and in both Eastern and Western Thrace the main verb agrees with the direct object. Eastern Thrace also has intransitives of the type *imêxme dojdenu* 'we have come' using a neuter instransitive main verb. It appears that the subject is always animate.

(220) a′.



b′.



Those who do not consider this construction to be a separate verb form would not accept the contention that the function of *ima* in example (220) can be that of an auxiliary. Regardless of the outcome of this controversy, there remains the basic fact that Bulgarian does not possess a set of verb forms like the Macedonian *ima* series.

The Serbo-Croatian verbal system is even more strikingly different from Macedonian than that of Bulgarian. Macedonian has ten indicative tense forms and Bulgarian has at least that number, but Serbo-Croatian has five or six, of which only two are used commonly in the everyday speech of educated speakers. Serbo-Croatian has the three simplex forms, but the aorist and imperfect are used only in writing, except in the southern dialects or fixed expressions. Serbo-Croatian, unlike Macedonian and Bulgarian, did not develop an *l*-participle based on the imperfect stem, and thus has only the aorist *l*-participle, which, as in Bulgarian, can also be used attributively. The Serbo-Croatian preterite formed with the *l*-participle normally has the auxiliary in all persons. In special contexts, the auxiliary can be left out for any person, but this constitutes idiomatic variation and not a separate paradigmatic set (Grickat 1954). Serbo-Croatian has two pluperfects, one formed by the imperfect of *biti* 'to be' and *l*-participle, and the other by the ordinary preterite of *biti* (e.g., *bio je* 'he was') and the *l*-participle. Only the latter is used by speakers whose dialects lack the simplex aorist and imperfect. According to Stevanović (1969: 642), the former is marked for the speaker's having 'experienced' (*doživeo*) the action, but according to Maretić (1963: 632) there is no difference of meaning between any of the pluperfect forms. Neither form is frequently encountered. Table 11 on the following page gives the third person singular of a verb meaning 'make, do' in all the indicative tense forms of all three literary languages.[6]

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[6] It should not be assumed that there exists a one-to-one correspondence between the forms of the different languages or that the Macedonian names of the tense forms are the same for the other languages. This table is merely intended to give a general

Table 11. Comparison of Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croatian Tense Forms

	Macedonian	**Bulgarian**	**Serbo-Croatian**
	Simplex		
present	pravi	právi	pravi
aorist	pravi	práví	pravi
imperfect	praveše	praveše	pravljaše
	Sum ***Forms***		
l-aorist	pravil	pravil e	pravio je
reported	—	pravil	—
l-imperfect	pravel	(pravel e)	—
reported	—	pravel	—
	Beše ***Forms***		
beše aorist	beše pravil	beše pravil	beše pravio[4]
reported	—	bil pravil	bio je pravio
beše imperfect	beše pravel	—	
reported	—	—	
	Ima ***Forms***		
ima perfect	ima praveno	—	—
imaše perfect	imaše praveno	—	—
imal perfect	imal praveno	—	—
	Dubitative		
aorist	—	bil pravel	—
imperfect	—	bil pravil	—

The dialects of these literary languages display a number of variations. The Bulgarian dialects of the Banat have the same verbal system as literary Serbo-Croatian, but only *bil* can be used in forming the pluperfect (Stojkov 1967: 238–44). The South Serbian dialects, including those bordering on Macedonian and Bulgarian, still use the simplex imperfect and aorist in everyday speech (Ivić 1956: 102, 113). No Serbian dialects, however, have an *ima* series,

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comparison of Macedonian to the two languages most closely related to it, and so for the sake of simplicity and clarity irrelevant inexactness has been tolerated. It should be noted that while the 3s present and aorist happen to be homonymous in Serbo-Croatian, all the other persons are differentiated.

[7] Variants: *bješe pravio, bejaše pravio, bijaše pravio.*

nor an *l*-imperfect. The same is generally true of northeastern Macedonian dialects and the dialects of western Bulgaria (Vidoeski 1954: 189; Stojkov 1968: 100; Umlenski 1965: 116–17). These dialects, like Serbian, also preserve the third person auxiliary in the *sum* series. Literary Bulgarian differs from Macedonian in its lack of an *ima* series and its possession of separate reported and dubitative series, which involves an opposition between the presence and the absence of the third person present auxiliary and the use of both *bil* and *beše* auxiliaries.[8] However, the western dialects, as was mentioned above, lack the imperfect *l*-form, and there is no separate reported or dubitative series in these dialects. The *l*-form of 'be' (*bil*) is not used as an auxiliary, and there is no opposition between the presence and absence of the third person present of 'be' as an auxiliary. It is never omitted. Bulgarians from this region, i.e., from west of the so-called *jat*-line (Stojkov 1968: 56), have difficulty in learning how to use the reported forms of the literary language, since they do not exist in their dialects (Kabasanov 1966: 52–53). The situation in the dialects of Pirin Macedonian is not entirely clear. While the Blagoevgrad (Gorna Džumaja) dialect is west of the *jat*-line and therefore lacks an imperfect *l*-form, the Razlog and Goce Delčev (Nevrokop) dialects are east of that line and are therefore classed by Bulgarian linguists with the Rhodopian dialects (Stojkov 1968: 83). The available descriptions of the dialects of Nevrokop and Razlog, e.g., those of Mirčev (1936) and Aleksiev (1931). The western boundary for the absence of the imperfect *l*-form includes eastern Macedonian, being a line running southeast from Kumanovo into Aegean Macedonia. The line then begins meandering eastward: north of Lake Butkovo (Greek Kerkinē), north of Valovišta (Demir Hisar; Greek Sidērokastron), then southward east of Serez (Greek Serrai), south of Ziljahovo (Greek Nea Zikhnē), then northeast and then northwest to the Bulgarian border then south again, heading eastward to the north of Drama and continuing into Thrace and heading northward at some point (Ivanov 1972: map 126; Stojov 1977 and Stojkov and Bernštejn 1964 give no data).[9]

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[8] See now Friedman 1996. The situation in eastern Macedonian dialects is complex. See now Fielder 2002/2003.

[9] The dialect of Novo Selo, in the Vidin region in the extreme northwest corner of Bulgaria, has a feature which is unique in South Slavic (Mladenov 1969: 108): this is a so-called probabilitive mood (*verojatnostno naklonenie*). It is formed by a special stem of the verb (actually, the old infinitive stem) and endings which have their historical origin in suffixed forms of *xŭtěti* 'will, want' in the present. The future of this mood, as with the indicative, is formed by the particle *čă* and the finite forms of the present, while the past is formed by the probabilitive present of 'be' and the *l*-participle. This mood is said to express probability, likelihood, deduction, doubt, and admirativity (Mladenov 1969: 110). As an example, the probabilitive forms of *nosi* 'carry' are given below. (For addtional analysis, see now Friedman 1998b.)

The dialectal situation with respect to the *ima* series is worthy of further comment. The existence of an *ima* construction in the dialects of southeastern Bulgaria has already been noted, and the situation in Vardar Macedonia was covered in chapter 4. There is no *ima* series in Pirin Macedonia. In the dialects of western Aegean Macedonia and southeastern Albania, the *ima* perfect and the *imaše* perfect have displaced the *sum* and *beše* series (Šklifov 1973: 95–99; Mazon 1936: 89). Since the tendency was toward the elimination of the *l*-form, an *imal* perfect did not develop in these dialects. The survival of *l*-forms in some admirative expressions has been reported in villages in the Korča (Korçë) region of Albania (Koneski, Vidoeski, Jašar-Nasteva 1968: 520; Mazon 1936: 92). In eastern Aegean Macedonia, the aorist *l*-form has survived, but there is no imperfect *l*-form. The third person present of 'be' is used as an auxiliary, and the pluperfect is formed only with *beše*, not with *bil*.[10]

These dialects also have the *ima* perfect, the *imaše* perfect, and, in the north, the *imal* perfect. The existence of the *ima* series in these dialects has been attributed to Greek influence by Gołąb (1960–61: 145). This ends the survey of Balkan Slavic. The verbal systems of other languages of the Balkans will now be briefly examined.

Modern Greek (Householder, Kazazis, and Koutsoudas 1964) has perfective and imperfective aspect, but unlike Slavic, Greek aspect is clearly an inflectional grammatical category, i.e., the Greek aspectual opposition belongs to each lexically distinct verb and does not involve the process of derivation. Perfective presents (nonpasts) do not occur without some modal particle. The aorist is always perfective and the imperfect is always imperfective. The imperfective present is indicative but can also occur with modal particles. So the simplex indicative tense forms of Greek are three in number: the present (imperfective nonpast), the imperfect (imperfective past), and the aorist (perfective past). Greek has two compound tense forms: a perfect and a pluperfect. The perfect is formed by the present of the verb *ékho* 'have' and an aspectless, genderless past participle which is homophonous with the third person singular perfective present. The pluperfect is formed by the imperfect of *ékho* (there is no aorist for the verb, as in Macedonian) and the same participle. The Greek perfect does not occur with definite past time adverbs. It is interesting

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	present	past	future
1s	nosìčăm	budàčăm nosìl	čă nosìčăm
2s	nosìčăš	budàčăš nosìl	čă nosìčăš
3s	nosìčă	budàčă nosìl	čă nosìčă
1p	nosìčămo	budàčămo nosìli	čă nosìčămo
2p	nosìčătă	budàčătă nosìli	čă nosìčătă
3p	nosìčăju	budàčăju nosili	čă nosìčăju

[10] See the discussion on p. 112 and Friedman 1988.

to note that Greek perfects do not appear to be acceptable in nonvolitional clauses (Joseph Pentheroudakis, personal communication):

(221) Khorís ná tó kataláνo, éspasa/*ékho spásei tá mpoukála.
'Without noticing it, I broke/*have broken the bottle.'

In Macedonian, the *ima* perfect can be used in such nonvolitional clauses, and the sentence is quite good with an *l*-aorist, which is descended from a perfect. A nonvolitional *l*-aorist occurred in example (52) in chapter 2:

(52) Ništo da ne setam, sum go skršil šišeto.
'Without noticing anything, I broke [I have broken] the bottle.'
(Lunt 1952: 97)

The Greek phenomenon has yet to be investigated, and its comparison with the developments of perfects in Macedonian could prove fruitful.[11]

Colloquial Romanian has a present, an imperfect, a perfect (unmarked past), and a pluperfect.[12] There is also an aorist, which, as in French, is used only in writing. In the dialects of Oltenia, in southwestern Romania, however, the perfect has been virtually eliminated by the aorist (Nandriş 1953: 112). The aorist is also used in the dialects of the Banat, the Apuseni Mountains, and western Wallachia (Grauer et al. 1966: 238). The pluperfect, like the present, imperfect, and aorist, is a synthetic form. There also exists a compound pluperfect formed by the perfect of *a fi* 'to be' and the past participle (Nandriş 1953: 113), e.g., *am fost văzut* 'I had seen'. This form is so rare that it is not even cited in some grammars, e.g., Ştefănescu-Drăgăneşti and Murrell 1970 and Cazacu et al. 1969.[13] The perfect is formed by the present of *a avea* 'to have' and the masculine form of the past participle, e.g., *am văzut* 'I have seen'.

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[11] The Greek pluperfect is quite different from the perfect in that it can occur with nonvolitional clauses. It can also occur freely with definite past time adverbs, as can pluperfects in Macedonian and English. Greek *lei* from 3sg *legei* 'one says' can function as a kind of evidential particle.

[12] See now Friedman 1998b, 2000b, 2003b on Romanian. See also Gołąb 1976 on the general point that the Romanian verbs shows a Slavic substratum, while the Macedonian verbs shows an Aromanian one. His main point is that the use of 'be' as an active auxiliary in Daco-Romanian is a Slavic calque, whereas the use of 'have' as a past auxiliary in Macedonian is a calque on Aromanian.

[13] One of the reasons for the obsolescence of the active compound pluperfect may be its homophony with the passive perfect, e.g., *am fost văzut* means 'I have been seen' as well as 'I had seen'. The literal translation is '(I) have been seen' (v. Rosetti et al. 1969: 267).

Aromanian differs from Romanian in a number of respects (Gołąb 1970). It has a living aorist, in addition to the present and the imperfect, and its pluperfect is an analytic form consisting of the imperfect of 'have' and the feminine form of the past participle, e.g., *aveam vidzútă* 'I have seen'. The perfect uses the present of 'have' as an auxiliary, as in Romanian, but it uses the feminine past participle, e.g., *am vidzútă* 'I have seen'. The fact that the feminine also functions as the neuter in Aromanian is one of the facts upon which Gołąb (1970) bases his theory of an Aromanian origin for the Macedonian *ima* series, which uses only the neuter form of the verbal adjective. Another factor is the influence of the large number of bilingual Aromanians living in southwest Macedonia, which is the source area of the *ima* innovation. Aromanian influence on the dialect of Bitola is said to be the cause of the fact that Bitola speakers do not distinguish simplex pasts and *sum* forms on the basis of status (Koneski 1965: 145; 1968: 520), since this category is lacking in Aromanian.[14]

Albanian has three simple indicative tense forms and three compound ones. The three simple forms are the present, the imperfect, and the aorist. The aorist is marked as perfective (Newmark [1957: 112] uses the term *completive*), while the other two simplex tense forms are *noncompletive.* The imperfect is marked as durative (Newmark's *circumstantial*), while the present is unmarked. The verb *kam* 'have', conjugated in each of the three simplex indicative tense forms, serves as an auxiliary for the three compound tense forms, which consist of the auxiliary and the present participle. The present of *kam* forms the perfect (*e kryera*), the imperfect of *kam* forms the pluperfect (*e kryera e plotë* or *më se e kryera*), and the aorist of *kam* forms a tense called the *transpast perfect* or the second aorist (*e kryera e tejshkuar* or *aoristi i dytë*). According to Pipa (n.d.: 145), the second aorist is definite while the pluperfect is indefinite, i.e., associated with a definite or indefinite moment in time, respectively. Demiraj (1966: 159) writes that the second aorist is usually subordinated to the conjunction *po* 'if'.[15] It is interesting to note that both Albanian and Macedonian have more than one type of pluperfect. A comparison of their uses could prove fruitful.[16] The origin of the Albanian perfect is sometimes attributed to the influence of Vulgar Latin, but Demiraj (1967: 183) writes that it could have arisen independently.

Although this work has been concerned only with non-modal, i.e., indicative, forms, Albanian has a special series not found in other Balkan languages but of particular interest because its meaning is found elsewhere: the so-called admirative mood (*mënyrë habitore*). It has four tense forms: present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect. The present and imperfect admirative are formed by adding suffixes that are transparently derived from *kam* to the participial root, while the perfect and pluperfect admirative are formed by using the present and imperfect admirative of *kam* and the present participle. The present and imperfect admirative and the perfect and pluperfect indicative of *hap* 'open' are given in Table 12 to show the morphological similarity:

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[14] See now Friedman 1994 and Markoviḱ 2007 on the admirative in the Frasheriote dialect of Gorna Belica, Republic of Macedonia. See also Atanasov 1990, 2002 on Megleno-Romanian.

[15] See now Friedman 1983, 2004 on the aorist pluperfect.

[16] See now Friedman 1981b.

Table 12. Comparison of the Albanian Indicative and Admirative

	present admirative	perfect indicative	imperfect admirative	pluperfect indicative
1s	hapkam	kam hapur	hapkësha	kisha hapur
2s	hapke	ke hapur	hapkëshe	kishe hapur
3s	hapka	ka hapur	hapkësh / hapkej	kish hapur
1p	hapkemi	kemi hapur	hapkëshim	kishim hapur
2p	hapkeni	keni hapur	hapkëshit	kishit hapur
3p	hapkan	kanë hapur	hapkëshin	kishin hapur

The admirative is defined as the mood for expressing surprise (Demiraj 1967: 213), but it appears to serve for any expression of exclamation:

(222) Qenka mot i mirë sot! (Haarmann 1971: 95)
'What beautiful weather there is today!'

According to Haarmann (1971: 95), the Albanian admirative can also be used for unwitnessed events.

(223) Ti thue se ai paska qenë dje në shtëpi. (Haarmann 1971: 95)
'You say he has been/was at home yesterday.'

It should be noted that *paska qenë* 'has been' is a perfect admirative occurring with a definite past time adverb, *dje* 'yesterday'. The admirative can also be used like the Macedonian dubitative. The influence of the Albanian admirative has been credited with being the cause for the Macedonian *l*-form survivals in the Korçë region mentioned earlier in this chapter. The connection between admirativity and nonwitnessedness is found in a number of languages (Haarmann 1971: 95) and is one worthy of investigation (v. also Demiraj 1971).[17]

The Turkish verbal system is radically different from those of the Indo-European languages of the Balkans, and even a superficial survey of it is beyond the scope of this work.[18] Rather, a few suffixes of particular relevance to the Macedonian verbal system, which is said by some to have been so strongly influenced by Turkish (e.g., Gołąb 1960), will be considered. The suffix of greatest interest is *-mIş*. This suffix is attested in Old Turkish for the forming of the *perfectum indefinitum* and survives in Southwest Turkic and Jakut (Menges 1968: 130). In Old Turkish, *-mIş* was used with the suffixes of the pronominal conjugation to form the perfect, while without these suffixes it developed the meaning of *nonwitnessed* (Haarmann 1970: 41). In Modern Turkish, the suffix *-mIş* has two distinct functions: the formation of the inferential past, which is said to be used for nonwitnessed, reported, and inferred actions, and the formation of the past participle, which has no inferential overtone whatsoever (Lewis 1967: 122). The suffix *-DI* is used for forming the noninferential past, but the past participles in *-DIK*, which should be opposed to those in *-mIş*, as the *-DI* past is opposed to the *-mIş* past, survive only in a few frozen forms (Lewis 1967: 162). The *-DI* past and the *-mIş* past of the verb 'be' (3s *idi* and *imiş*) are used to produce additional tense forms.[19] A list of words using the root *gel-* 'come' and the suffixes *-DI*, *-mIş*, *-Iyor* 'progressive', and *-DIr* 'is', as well as the suffixed forms of *idi* and *imiş*, accompanied by standard translations, is given below to illustrate some of the possibilities:

geldi	'he came/has come'	(*-DI* past)
gelmiş	'I gather he came/has come *or* having come'	(*-mIş past or past participle*)
geliyor	'he is coming'	(*-Iyor*)
geldiydi	'he had come'	(*-DI* past + *idi*)
gelmişti	'he had come' (literally 'was having come')	(past participle + *idi*)
geliyordu	'he was coming'	(*-Iyor* + *idi*)
*geldiymiş	'impossible form'	(*-DI* past + *imiş*)

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[17] As I have argued subsequently (Friedman 2004, 2005), the invariant meaning of the Albanian admirative is non-confirmativity. On this history of this development, see Friedman 2010.

[18] Göksel and Kerslake (2005) give an excellent overview as well as more detailed analysis.

[19] It should be noted that *imiş* is said to be both past and nonpast, i.e., unmarked for tense, while the *-mIş* past of all other verbs is marked as past (cf. Lewis 1967: 122).

gelmişmiş	'I gather he had come'	(past participle + *imiş*)
geliyormuş	'I gather he is/was coming'	(*-Iyor* + *imiş*)
*geldidir	impossible form	(*-DI* past + *-DIr*)
gelmiştir	'he came/has come'	(past participle + *-DIr*)
geliyordur	'I suppose/am surprised that he is coming'	(*-Iyor* + *-DIr*)
gelmişim	'I gather I came/ have come'	(ls *-mIş* past)
gelmişimdir	'I must have come'	(ls *-mIş* past + *-DIr*)

This list does not exhaust the possibilities of the system, but it will suffice to illustrate those points of relevance to certain Macedonian and Bulgarian problems. The imperfect *l*-form is said to have been formed under the influence of the *-mIş* participle. But it can be seen that in Turkish the definite/indefinite (*-DI*/*-mIş*) opposition, which is said to be basic to the system (Haarman 1970: 39), no longer carries over into the participles. One might also note that resultativity does not appear to be a factor in choosing a *-DI* past or a *-mIş* past (Lewis 1967: 127). The use of *-DIr* with the *-mIş* participle has been equated with the Bulgarian use of the third-person auxiliary to distinguish the unmarked past from the reported. But there are two important differences: *gelmiştir* is entirely synonymous with *geldi*, the difference being formal/informal style, while the Bulgarian *došăl e* cannot be said to have the same relation to *dojde*. The other important difference is the fact that *-DIr* can be suffixed to any person but the third singular of the *-mIş* past, as well as to other verb forms (e.g., *geliyordur*) to produce a kind of inferential, i.e., to indicate a supposition or even admirativity. While it is a striking similarity that the *-mIş* past can be used as an admirative and dubitative as well as a reported, like the Macedonian *sum* series or the Bulgarian reported, the Turkish form has a more purely reported meaning than the Slavic, as can be seen in the following example:

(224) Ben hastaymışım (a) ama hasta değilim. (b) ve bu doğrudur.
'I am said to be ill (a) but I'm not. (b) and it's true.'

In Macedonian (or Bulgarian) *jas sum bil bolen* 'they say I was ill/I have been ill' in a reported meaning could only be dubitative, i.e., followed by 'but I'm not'.[20]

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[20] See now Friedman 2003a for extensive discussion of Turkish and the other Balkan languages.

Gagauz has a simpler verbal system than Turkish, e.g., the suffix *-Iyor* has been lost. According to Pokrovskaja (1964: 194–96), the opposition between the *-DI* past and the *-mIš* past is strictly one of witnessed/nonwitnessed. Unlike Turkish, the difference betwen the pluperfects of the type *gelmišti* and *geldijdi* is also strictly one of witnessed/nonwitnessed. There is also a past of the type *gelmišmiš*, but it is infrequent, occurs almost exclusively in the third person, and is said to be used for the present result of a long-past nonwitnessed action (Pokrovskaja 1964: 228). Participles are not frequently used in Gagauz; the *-mIš* participle has only a passive meaning, while the *-DI* participle exists only in its negative form (*-medik*) and is also used passively (Pokrovskaja 1964: 230–36). The suffix *-DIr* is never used for categorical confirmation in Gagauz. This is a feature which Gagauz shares with the Kipchak group rather than the Oğuz, to which it belongs. Thus in Gagauz one would say or write *beki gelmištir kardašyn* for 'maybe your brother has come', while in Turkish one would only write *kardeşin gelmiştir* for 'your brother came' (Pokrovskaja 1964: 229). Gagauz differs from Turkish in a number of other respects, but those outlined above are of the most interest for this work.

One other phenomenon worthy of note has been observed in the Romani dialect of Sliven in eastern Bulgaria (Kostov 1973).[21] In all the European Romani dialects, there are four indicative tense forms: a present, an imperfect, an aorist (or perfect), and a pluperfect. The imperfect is usually formed by suffixing *-(a)s* to the forms of the present, while the pluperfect is usually formed by suffixing *-as* to the perfect (aorist), which is itself a simplex form which originated from the suffixing of the present tense forms of *is-* 'be' to the past participle (Paspati 1870: 80–99). In the Sliven dialect, a reported form is said to have developed due to the influence of the Bulgarian reported. It is formed by adding *-li* to the imperfect and pluperfect. This ending is said to be derived from the *-l* of the Bulgarian past active participle (Kostov 1973: 108). The forms for the first person singular of *ker-* 'do' are shown in Table 13, which is based on Kostov 1973 (108):

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[21] Additional data and analyses are now to be found in Igla 2006. She raises the possibility that the Slavic interrogative particle *li* could have contributed to the Sliven Romani semantics. My own field work has found a dubititive use of interrogative *li* in Kriva Palanka Arli. That the particle *li* is involved is confirmed by an identical usage of the Turkish inerrgoative particle *mi* in the Barutči Arli dialect of Skopje (see Friedman 2013). See also Matras 1995.

Table 13. The Sliven Romani Indicative

	indicative	reported
present	kerav(a)	keravas-li
imperfect	keravas	keravas-li
perfect	kerim	kerimas-li
pluperfect	kerimas	kerimas-li

The following example illustrates the fact that in Sliven Romani, as in Bulgarian or Macedonian, an English sentence might be rendered in three ways:

(225) Oda vakergjas mangi, či tu...
a. ... phirsa. (present)
b. ... phirsas. (imperfect)
c. ... phirsas-li. (reported)
'He told me you were coming.'

6.3. Final Conclusion

This concludes the survey of verbal systems in other Balkan languages and dialects. The systems are all substantially different, although they also have significant similarities. For example, all the Indo-European languages of the Balkans have simplex imperfects and aorists, but the aorist is no longer used in spoken literary Serbian or Romanian. Macedonian, Greek, Romanian, Aromanian, and Albanian all have perfects using the auxiliary 'have', but the Romanian perfect is really an unmarked past, while the perfects in the other languages are not.[22] The dialects of northeastern Macedonia have essentially the same verbal system as those of southern Serbia and western Bulgaria, while those of southwestern Macedonia are the most distinctive. Macedonian is the only Indo-European Balkan language to have a three-way opposition simplex past/unmarked past/perfect, while Bulgarian is the only such language with a morphological reported/dubitative/unmarked distinction. As a result, their indicative tense form systems are approximately twice as large as those of the other languages, approaching Turkic in their complexity. Spoken literary Serbian and Romanian have three indicative tense forms; the written forms of these languages have five or six. Aromanian and Greek have five each, while Balkan Romani has four, or, in Sliven, six. Albanian also has six. Macedonian, however, has ten and Bulgarian has ten or eleven. If, for the purposes of this comparison, consideration of the Turkic system is limited to the suffixes *-Iyor, mIş, -DI,* and *-Ir* (this last is the so-called aorist), then Modern Turkish has eleven tense forms, while Gagauz, which has lost *-Iyor,* has eight. In this comparison of complexities, one might note that the admirative series of Albanian is unique to Albanian of all the Balkan languages, and it has meanings which are found in the more complex Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Turkic indicative systems. With the admirative, Albanian also has ten tense forms. It is also noteworthy that Albanian, like Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Turkic but unlike the other Balkan languages, has more than one pluperfect.[23] There is much work which can be done in comparing Balkan verbal systems. The material and analysis given in this book could provide a basis for further such comparisons of these and other verbal systems with Macedonian and with each other.

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[22] It may be that the Albanian perfect is becoming an unmarked past. It appears to be used more frequently than the aorist in spoken Albanian, and it appears in contexts where the aorist would be expected. Also, the Albanian perfect can occur with definite past time adverbs:

(xi) Unë dje e kam parë n'orën dy.
'I saw (literally 'have seen') him yesterday at two o'clock.'

One feature of Macedonian which should be kept in mind is the fact that while the analysis in this work has treated the verbal system as a consistent whole, it is actually in a state of flux. The two competing literary dialects mentioned in chapter 4, one with and one without the *ima* series, account for a large part of the conflict. Some of the problems raised by this conflict can be seen when working with consultants on the acceptability of different kinds of sentences using *ima* forms. Consultants from the southwest, where the *ima* series currently displays a tendency to replace the *sum* series altogether, accepted virtually any kind of *ima* sentence. Those from the north and east, however, where the *ima* series is not native, rejected examples at random. Only consultants from the Prilep region, in the center of the *ima*-using area, made consistent distinctions. Thus, given a list of unusual sentences with *ima* forms, consultants from Prilep accepted some and rejected others on the basis of discernible principles, while those from Bitola accepted virtually all of the sentences, and those from Skopje accepted and rejected randomly. Since these conflicting tendencies are all being brought together in Skopje, changes in the system are bound to occur. The aspectual system is also undergoing a process of modification. Imperfective aorists are becoming obsolete to the extent that some educated native speakers will reject them as ungrammatical.[24] Examples (33) and (46), which were used by Koneski in his grammar, were not only unacceptable, but incomprehensible, to a number of recent college graduates:

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[23] The compound pluperfect of some Romanian grammars appears to be both moribund and semantically unopposed to the simplex pluperfect, and the two pluperfects in Serbo-Croatian (one with the auxiliary *beše* the other with *bio je*) also appear to be semantically unopposed (Maretić 1963: 632). They will therefore not be taken into consideration.

(33) Go drža tamo celi tri dni i tri noḱi. (Koneski 1967: 423)
'They held him there for all of three days and three nights.'

(46) A, ne treba, Boško, dosta pivme. (Koneski 1967: 423)
'Oh, it's not necessary, Boško, we've drunk enough.'

For (33), *držeše* (Ii) seemed to be preferred to *zadrža* (Pa) as the acceptable substitute, while in (46), *sme napile* (Pa) was suggested before *sme piele* (Ii). The system presented in this work is not a mere literary idealization but a real part of a living language in the process of being subjected to various pressures, and not all speakers can be expected to have identical systems. It will be interesting to observe the changes which will take place.[25]

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[24] On the loss of the Macedonian imperfective aorist, see now also Friedman 1993b. Such usages survive in some dialects and in the speech of speakers of the oldest generation. The forms are taught in schools and occur in Macedonian literature.

[25] As of 2008–9, the *ima* past had become much more widespread and was in the process of replacing the *sum* past in all resultative functions. The *sum* past is moving in the direction of marked non-confirmativity. The *beše* pluperfect is extremely rare and on the road to obsolescence. As of this writing, however, the basic system as described in the first edition of this book is still in place. The changes have been incremental and are still in progress.

Appendix

This appendix consists of some three hundred additional examples of those types of sentences essential for demonstrating the theoretical points of this work. These additional examples are presented in the same order as the sentences in the body of the text and are grouped according to the numbering of the main examples. Thus, for example, sentences (45–47) in the main work contrast imperfective aorists with imperfective imperfects. The reader seeking additional examples of this contrast can consult the appendix entry (45–47), labeled *Imperfective Aorist vs. Imperfective Imperfect,* to locate several more sentences lettered (a–d). Every sentence in the main body of the text has a corresponding number in the appendix.

Additional examples of the sentences in the footnotes have not been included in the appendix, since that material is essentially peripheral to the main points of the work. Similarly, for examples which are not in Macedonian, consist of sentence diagrams, or illustrate marked modal forms, there are no additional examples in the appendix due to their nonessential nature within the context of this book, although corresponding numbers and labels, e.g., (138) *Non-Macedonian example,* do appear. Also, sentences which simply illustrate ordinary usage of the most common tense forms, e.g., the present tense form in (14), are labeled *Noncrucial,* and no further examples are given. Examples of these types abound in virtually all Macedonian publications and everyday native speech. Typical examples of less common tense forms, however, e.g., the *beše* pluperfects (v. [187a–g]), do have additional examples in the appendix since such examples are not readily encountered. Dialectal sentences and additional references have occasionally been included for certain problematical categories, e.g., imperfective aorists.

None of the examples in this appendix were elicited by the author but were all encountered either in reading or in conversation. Hence, there are no additional examples of ungrammatical sentences, and those examples in the text which were specifically elicited are crossreferenced with the most similar unelicited example(s). In order to prevent the appendix from becoming unwieldy, no example in the appendix contains more than ten sentences.

One final note of explanation: the purpose of this appendix is the provision of a large, organized corpus of interesting Macedonian sentences for use in researches not necessarily directly related to the problems examined in this work. As a result, the classification of some of the sentences may not always be beyond dispute. Every effort has been made to minimize any lack of clarity by cross-referencing and providing contexts wherever they were thought to be necessary and were available. It is nonetheless possible that some sentences will provoke disagreement, a risk taken for the sake of presenting the material and thereby providing the basis of further investigation and discussion.

(1) Verbal Adjective Used Adjectivally

(a) Dojdeniot junak ja gledaše so blagodarnost. (Koneski 1953: 150)
'The hero who had arrived was looking at her thankfully.'

(b) Na ulicata ležeše nepodvižno čovečko telo so lice svrteno kon zemjata. (Počinka 20 X 73: 26)
'On the street lay a motionless human body with its face turned to the ground.'

(c) Na dzidot viseše vramena fotografija... (Počinka 27 X 73: 26)
'On the wall hung a framed photograph...'

(d) Možam li, mamo, da spijam pri zapalena svetilka? (Ivanovski 1973b: 15)
'May I, mama, sleep with a light lit?'

(e) Isečen na parčinja go zakopale v niva. (Počinka 18 XI 72: 10)
'Chopped into pieces, they buried him in a field.'

(f) Dali čovekot e "padnat angel vo pekolot"...? (N. M. 4 III 76: 9)
'Is man a "fallen angel in hell"...?'

(g) Kučinjata posakani od čovekot. (Počinka 15 XII 73: 13)
'Dogs more loved than man.'

(h) Gradskiot element, formiran od pridojdeni selani...
'The urban element, formed of peasants who had come...' (Lunt 1952: 98)

(i) Vo dadenata situacija...

'In the given situation... (Lunt 1952: 98)

(j) Potemnoto lice; sednatoto dete; begana moma; abdal abdalosan. (Koneski 1953: 149–54)

'The darkened face; the seated child; a runaway girl; a fool befooled.'

See also (62a), (68a–b), (91a–b), (107a–c), (109a–b), (135).

(2) *Beše* as Emphatic Particle

(a) Koga se vatila na tanec samovilata i koga trgnala da igra oro samovilsko, na čudo beše stanale malo i golemo, što bea na svadba. (Koneski 1967: 485)

'When the fairy entered the dance and began to dance the fairy dance, both small and great who were at the wedding stood in wonder.'

(b) Što beše se zaborčil za kuḱata, vratil. (Koneski 1967: 485)

'He paid off the mortgage, which he had put on the house.' (N.B. a *beše* pluperfect would be *se beše zaborčil*.)

(c) Toj dóšol dva tri pati beše. (Koneski 1949: 294)

'He did come two or three times.'

(d) Tie beše došle. (Koneski 1969: 169)

'They did come.'

(e) Od edna nedela bevme gladni, beše ni umrele majka i tatko. (Koneski 1967: 485)

'For a week we went hungry; our father and mother died.'

(f) Dvete momčinja, što bea verni Turci na carot, beše si vlegle večerta vo edna ǵemija. (Koneski 1967: 485)

'The two lads, who were faithful Turks of the king, came in that evening in a boat.'

(g) Ama tój beše bíl vo Bélgrad.

'But he was in Belgrade (they tell me).' (Lunt 1952: 97)

(3–4) Indefinite *Sum* + Verbal Adjective

(a) Stopati na Miško mu e rečeno: žeškata supa ne smee vednaš da se jade. (Ivanovski 1973b: 23)

'Miško was told a hundred times: hot soup musn't be eaten at once.'

(b) Toj e iden vamu poveḱe pati. (Koneski 1953: 150 and 1967: 439)

'He has come here several times'

(c) Jas sum dosta seden. (Koneski 1953: 150)

'I have been sitting enough.'

(5–13) Marked modal forms

(14–16) Noncrucial examples

(17–18) Change of Tense in a Single Narrative and Historical Present

(a) Dojdoa Ǵošo i Fanče vo zoološkata gradina. Meǵu životnite go vidoa volkot. Se naoǵaše vo kafez. Ǵošo vednaš go pozna.
—Slušaj ti! Zošto si ja izel Crvenkapa?
Volkot molči. A Fanče go prašuva:
—Slušaj ti! Zošto si ja goltnal babata?
Volkot si ja podvitka opaškata meǵu noze.
A Fanče i Gošo prodolžija:
—Ama te fatile i te zatvorile vo kafez. Ti si grd, loš volk.
(Ivanovski 1973a: 38)

'Ǵošo and Fanče went to the zoo. Among the animals they saw the wolf. He was in a cage. Ǵošo recognized him at once.
"Listen, you! Why did you eat up Little Red Riding Hood?"
The wolf is silent. And Fanče asks him:
"Listen, you! Why did you swallow Grandma?"
The wolf put his tail between his legs and Fanče and Ǵoso went on:
"But they caught you and put you in a cage. You're an ugly, bad wolf."'

(b) Pejo zel i naednaš go ispil kaveto. Toa bilo žeško, mu žeželo, mu izgore ustata i Pejo go frlil findžalo vo dzido i mu vika na domaḱino: (Penušliski 1973: 226)

'Pejo went and drank the coffee all at once. It was hot, it scorched him, it burned his mouth and Pejo threw the coffee cup against the wall and says to his host:'

(c) Tie ja čekaat baba Hristina. Vozot pristigna. Meǵu patnicite beše babata. (Ivanovski 1973a: 76)

'They are waiting for Grandma Hristina. The train arrived. Among the passengers was Grandma.'

(d) Pioneri patuvaat so voz. Site se veselat. Po malku vreme vozot zastana. Pri pionerite vleze Čičo Panče. Site stanaa. (Ivanovski 1973a: 27)

'The pioneers are traveling by train. They are enjoying themselves. After a little while the train stopped. Uncle Panče came into the pioneers' [compartment]. Everyone stood up.'

(e) Zlate i Elena se vo limuzina. Zoran zamoli:
—Te molam, tate, zemi me i mene. (Ivanovski 1973a: 25)

'Zlate and Elena are in a limousine. Zoran asked:
"Please, Daddy, take me too."'

(f) Po kratko vreme se vrati vo Skopje, so kola, so eden drugar, Zoran. Utredenta velat deka Zoran ḱe se vrati vo Belgrad, pa treba da go ispratat na avtobuskata stanica. (Počinka 7 IV 73: 28)

'After a short time, he returned to Skopje with a car [and] with a friend, Zoran. The next day they say that Zoran will return to Belgrade, and they have to send him off at the bus station.'

(g) Se stepaa vo dvorot dve petlinja. Maliot Koljo ja gleda tepanicata i samo zboruva: (Ivanovski 1973b: 51)

'Two roosters were fighting in the yard. Little Koljo watches the fight and only says:'

(h) Na masata ima tri tetratki. Vrz niv sjae sonceto. Dvete tetratki se falea: (Ivanovski 1973b: 6)

'There are three notebooks on the table. The sun is shining on them. Two of the notebooks were bragging:'

(19–21) Noncrucial examples

(22–23) Macedonian Present = English Perfect

(a) Ovde sum samo eden čas.

'I've been here only an hour.' (Arsova 1973: 169)

(b) Dolgo li čekaš Petre? (N. M. 20 XII 75: 11)

'Have you been waiting long, Petre?'

(c) Pijam viski 114 godini. (Počinka 12 IX 72: 31)

'I've been drinking whiskey for 114 years.'

(d) Veḱe 4-ti pat begaš. (N. M. 16 XI 72: 16)

(warden to returned prisoner) 'This is the 4th time you've run away.'

(24) Typical Perfective Aorist vs. Imperfective Imperfect

(a) Se boreše lošo i gi zagubi šansite za najvisok plasman. (N. M. 16 X 76: 9)

'He fought poorly and lost his changes for the highest placement.'

(b) Ljupčo imaše kučence. Beše crno. Zatoa go vikaše Murdžo. Ljupčo mnogu go ljubeše i go hraneše. Eden den Ljubica doaǵaše kaj Ljupčo. Murdžo džvakaše na nea. Ljupčo mu vikna. Murdžo prestana. (Ivanovski 1973a: 79)

'Ljupčo had a little dog. He was black. So he called him Murdžo ('Blackie'). Ljupčo loved Murdžo very much and fed him. One day Ljubica was coming to Ljupčo's. Murdžo kept snapping at her. Ljupčo called to him. Murdžo stopped.'

(c) Karpov pobedi no ne bleskaše. (N. M. 17 IX 75: 14)

'Karpov won, but he didn't shine.'

See also (17a), (37a,c), (45a), (54a), (68c), (134a).

(25–32) Non-Macedonian examples

(33) Imperfective Aorist

(a) Go zel po sebe momčeto, ta go nosi vo edna pusta pustelina. (Koneski 1967: 423)

'He took the lad with him and brought him into a barren wilderness.'

(b) Jadov, jadov—se poduv. (Koneski 1967: 424)

'I ate and ate—I got bloated.'

(c) Go vrte, go vrte duri mu se skina opaškata. (Koneski 1967: 424)

'He twisted it and twisted it until his tail broke off.'

(d) Za toa li ti spa kaj nea, da ti posluži so Ilija? (Koneski 1967: 423)

'Is that why you slept at her place, so that Ilija would be of service to you?'

(e) … pred crkvata tri večeri leža, od magarica mleko pi,… (Koneski 1967: 424)

'… she lay before the church for three days, drank donkey's milk,…'

(f) Sedea što sedea i došlo vreme za spienje. (Koneski 1967: 424)

'They sat and sat and it came time to sleep.'

(g) Kviče, kviče i za k'smetot ču svinjarot. (Koneski 1967: 424)

'It squealed and squealed, and by chance the swineherd heard.'

(h) Toj uči, uči, sedumnaest (*sic*) godini!

'He studied and studied, for seventeen years!' (Lunt 1952: 90)

(i) Ne li se moli da ti prostat?

'Didn't you request that they forgive you?' (Lunt 1952: 90)

(j) Kaži ednaš, dosta go zavitkuva. (Iljoski 1966: 60)

'Say it already, you've beaten around the bush enough.'

See also (45d), (187a–c), as well as Hendriks 1976: 222, Koneski 1949: 28, Mazon and Vaillant 1938: 221, Šklifov 1973: 92, Vidoeski 1957: 78.

(34) Non-Macedonian example

(35) see (33).

(36) Non-Macedonian example

(37–39) Noncoordinated Imperfects

(a) Koga go udriv dvapati čudno me gledaše. (N. M. 26 VII 76: 11)

'When I hit him twice, he looked at me strangely.'

(b) Poveḱe od eden čas 20-godišnata Amerikanka Meri Louson stoeše na rabot od pokrivot na edna petokatnica vo Feniks (Arizona). (N. M. 1 III 73: 10)

(beginning of article) 'For more than an hour the 20-year-old American Mary Louson stood on the edge of the roof of a five-story building in Phoenix (Arizona).'

(c) Cane i Cecka crtaa. Cecka nacrta mače. (Ivanovski 1973a: 31)

(beginning of story) 'Cane and Cecka were drawing. Cecka drew a cat.'

(d) Ti velev da ne pieš koga nemaše položeno vozački ispit! (N. M. 30 IV 76: 16)

(cartoon caption) 'I kept telling you not to drink when you haven't passed your driver's test!'

(e) Muhamed Ali boksuvaše dobro protiv Dan, no kako ḱe bide so japonskiot karatist Antonio Inioki? (N. M. 26 V 76: 15)

(photo caption) 'Muhamed Ali boxed well against Dan, but how will it be with the karate expert Antonio Inioki?'

(f) Ilievski braneše sè. (N. M. 30 VIII 76: 9)

(headline) 'Ilievski defended everything.'

(g) Dolgo se čekaše za ovoj moment. (Počinka 15 VI 74: 25)

(beginning of article) 'This moment was long awaited.'

N.B. the argument for the noncoordinated nature of examples (b–g) is the same as that for example (27) in the main text. The argument for example (a) is the same as for example (37) in the main text, viz. the action described by *gledaše* 'looked at' is subsequent to and resultant from, rather than coordinated with, the action described by *udriv* 'I hit'.

See also (40d).

(40–41) Imperfect with Time Limit

(a) Od denot koga se slučilo ubistvoto do denot koga go odvedoa v zatvor, mojot soprug se odnesuvaše malku neobično.
(Počinka 7 X 72: 10)

'From the day on which the murder occurred until the day they took him to prison, my husband acted rather unusually.'

(b) Toj veḱe vo početokot na aferata ednaš svedočeše pod zakletva i tvrdeše deka ne znae ništo za aferata, a sega Makord go obvinuva za krivokletstvo. (N. M. 20 VI 74: 5)

'Already at the beginning of the affair he had testified once under oath and claimed that he didn't know anything about the affair, but now McCord is accusing him of perjury.'

(c) I vo poslednite sekundi od mečot (8,59 minuta) slaveše pobeda so tuš... Seidiu ne izdrža samo 45 sekundi vo borbata protiv odličniot Iranec Poukari, koj slaveše pobeda so tuš vo 8,15 minuti od borbata.
(N. M. 17 IX 75: 14)

'And in the last seconds of the match (8.59 minutes), he won with a pin... Seidiu failed to hold out for only 45 seconds of the match against the excellent Iranian Poukari, who won with a pin in 8.15 minutes of the match.'

(d) Celi četiri časa traeše ovoj dvoboj na čeličnite džinovi vo Sinaj, vo centralniot sektor, a potoa izraelskite tenkovi počnaa da se povlekuvaat kon Istok. (N. M. 12 X 73: 1)

'This clash of steel giants in the central sector of Sinai lasted for three whole hours, then the Israeli tanks began to pull back to the East.'

(e) Tie, bidejḱi golmanot na Dinamo Stinčiḱ vo 28 minuta lošo interveniraše, zasluženo dojdoa vo vodstvo preku Ličinar, koj bez pogolemi teškotii ja zatrese mrežata. (N. M. 6 X 75: 10)

'They, because the Dynamo's goalie Stinčiḱ committed a foul in the 28th minute, deservedly came into the lead by means of Ličinar, who without any further difficulties shook the net.'

(f) Răbotàše pèt gudìni tàtko pri tunèl'te. (Šklifov 1973: 94)

'Father worked for five years on the tunnels.'

(42) see (24), (37), (48).

(43–44) Non-Macedonian examples

(45–47) Imperfective Aorist vs. Imperfective Imperfect

(a) Taka i bi! Vrvea godini, a Mindzura nikoj ne go pobara. (Čašule 1976: 12)

'So it was! Years passed and no one sought Mindzur.'

(b) ... i koga pravele gramatika ne pravile li taka? Edna li gramatika samo napravile? (Koneski 1959: 79)

'... and when they were making a grammar, did they not do so? Did they make only one grammar?'

(c) Vo tuǵa kuḱa sede so kirija, bidejḱi vo Prilep si sedeše vo svoja. (Koneski 1967: 424)

'He rented [a room] at someone else's house, because in Prilep he stayed at his own [place].'

(d) Ne znam kolku vreme što se mačija i se karaa i nikako ne možea da se pogodat. (Koneski 1967: 423)

'I don't know how long they hassled and quarreled, and they just couldn't agree at all.'

(48) Durative Imperfect

(a) Toj vo togašniot mig nitu pomisluvaše deka za kamerata na Robert Jaki e najprekrasniot čovek so koj fotoreporterot se beše sretnal, niz okoto na teleobjektivot, vo poslednite sto dena. (N. M. 24 IV 76: 11)

'At that moment he wasn't even thinking that for the camera of Robert Jaki he was the most beautiful person that the photo-reporter had met through the eye of his telephoto lens in the last one hundred days.'

(b) Potoa nastapi eden posmiren period, koj za žal, traeše mnogu kuso. (N. M. 27 II 76: 5)

'After that came a calmer period, which, unfortunately, lasted for a very short time.'

(c) Blagoja ì vikaše na baba si:
—Babo, babo, gledaj go! (Ivanovski 1973a: 34)

'Blagoja called to his grandma:
"Grandma, Grandma, look at it!"'

See also (1a–c), (24a–b), (36a–g), (40a–f), (45a–d), (54b), (77a), (87a), (109a), (134a).

(49) Non-Macedonian example

(50) see (55), (68), (102).

(51) see (54), (62), (68), (105), (107).

(52) see (71), (131).

(53) see (98), (102–14).

(54) Reported Simplex Form

(a) Vo tekot na razgovorot meģu Nikson i Klajndist [sic], dva časa pred toa se rasipa, spored tvrdenjata na Belata kuḱa, uredot za snimanje na razgovori, pa ne raboteše sè do večerta. (N. M. 25 VI 74: 5)

'In the course of the conversation between Nixon and Kleindienst, two hours before that, according to the claims of the White House, the device for taping conversations broke, and it didn't work until that evening.'

(b) Meǵutoa, ako se zeme predvid faktot deka bogomilite pred nego projavuvaa vonreden revolucioneren aktivitet, za što zboruvat [sic] izvorite, za vreme na Samuil bea onaa sila vrz koja se potpiraše negovoto vladeenje, togaš nužno se nametnuva zaključokot deka tie igrale važna uloga ne samo vo podgotovkite za vostanieto, tuku i vo samoto vostanie. (N. M. 25 IV 76: 11)

'However, if one takes into account the fact that before it [the uprising of 969 A.D.] the Bogomils displayed extraordinary revolutionary activity, of which the sources speak, and that at the time of Samuil they were the strength by which his rule was supported, then one is necessarily drawn to the conclusion that they played an important role not only in the preparations for the uprising, but in the uprising itself.'

(c) Niz celiot XIII vek diecezata na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija beše često izložena na politički promeni... (Grozdanov 1970: 99)

'Throughout the entire thirteenth century, the diocese of the Ohrid archbishopric was often exposed to political changes...'

See also (62a,c–e), (68d), (142a–b), (146a–e).

(55–61) Indefinite Simplex Form

(a) Mislam deka nikogaš ništo ne dobijaa. (N. M. 14 VI 74: 5)

'I don't think they ever got anything [, sir].' (W. H. 118)

(b) I ušte da go kažam samo toa deka vo Albanija nikogaš, ni denje ni noḱe, nemav potreba da ja zaklučuvam vratata na voziloto... (N. M. 13 V 73: 4)

'And also let me say only that in Albania never, neither during the day nor at night, did I have to lock the door of the vehicle...'

(c) Nekolkupati se obiduvaše da go kaže pozdravot što go imaše veḱe naučeno napamet. (Ivanovski 1973b: 61)

'Several times he tried to say the greeting which he had already learned by heart.'

(d) "Nikogaš nemav potreba za takvo ǵubre kako čitanjeto i pišuvanjeto" veli. (Počinka 12 IX 72: 31)

'"I never needed crap like reading and writing," he says.'

(e) Ponekogaš, mnogu retko, se slučuvaše da pomine ušte nekoe drugo vozilo, no mnogu retko. (Počinka 9 VI 73: 16)

'Sometimes, very rarely, it would happen that some other vehicle would pass through, but very rarely.'

(f) Nikogaš ne doznav kolku plati za mene. (Počinka 12 IX 72: 31)

'I never found out how much he paid for me.'

(g) ... ni Bob i [sic] Čak nikogaš ne me izvesti za toa što se slučuva... no tie nikogaš nemaa za što da me izvestat. (N. M. 13 VI 74: 5)

'... neither Bob nor Chuck ever reported to me about what was going on... but they never had any reason to report to me.'
(based on W. H. 117–18)

(h) Do neodamna često se zboruvaše za evidentna pojava na zadocnuvanje na časovite, osobeno prvite, vo srednite učilišta. (Počinka 16 XI 74: 6)

'Until recently the obvious phenomenon of tardiness for classes, especially the first ones, was frequently discussed in the high schools.'

(i) So godini sedev so nego v kancelarija i gledav deka ništo ne raboti. (N. M. 5 I 73: 2)

'For years I've sat in an office with him and watched him do nothing.'

(j) Točno ne znam kako dojde da stanam rabotnik na graničniot premin. (Počinka 9 VI 73: 17)

'I don't know exactly how I came to be a worker at the border crossing.'

See also (45a,d), (62a), (105a).

(62–67) Unwitnessed Simplex Form

(a) Kako snopje pağaa maški glavi. Ubienite osvetnici im se odmazduvaa nivnite bližni i taka odmazdata, kako nekakvo grozno nasledstvo se prenesuvaše od pokolenie na pokolenie. (N. M. 14 V 73: 5)

'Men's heads fell like sheaves. The murdered avengers were avenged by their relatives, and so revenge, like some kind of terrible inheritance, was passed on from generation to generation.'

(b) —Kade e Violeta?! — prašav.
—Vo bolnica, drugar inspektor — odgovori Svetislav.
—Vo bolnica!
—Da, vo bolnica — povtori smireno.
—Znači imaše i pukanje?!
—Ne...
— Što se sluči?
—Vinko se obide da ja ubie. (Počinka 21 X 74: 27)

'"Where is Violeta?!" I asked.
"In the hospital, Comrade Inspector," answered Svetislav.
"In the hospital!"
"Yes, in the hospital," he repeated calmly.
"So then there was shooting, too?!"
"No..."
"What happened?"
"Vinko tried to kill her."' [N. B. Vinko's attempt was not actually witnessed by Svetislav. He was chasing Vinko's car, lost sight of it, and then found Violeta lying by the road.]

(c) ... koga toa kon 30-te godini na X vek se pojavi vo Makedonija, (N. M. 25 IV 76: 11)

'... when in the thirties of the tenth century it appeared in Macedonia,'

(d) Dukağin, vsušnost, vo izvesna smisla go revidiraše principot na talionite... (N. M. 14 V 73: 5)

'Dukagjin, actually, revised the *lex talionis* in a certain sense.'

(e) Imhotep, golemiot vezir na egipetskiot faraon Zoser, beše arhitekt, inžiner... (N. M. 23 X 73: 11)

'Imhotep, grand vizier of the Egyptian pharaoh Zoser, was an architect, engineer...'

(f) No podocna se slučija raboti za koi ne znaev. (N. M. 19 VI 74: 5)

'But after that things happened which I didn't know about.' (based on W. H. 188)

See also (54a–c), (146a).

(68–70) Simplex and *Sum* Forms in Single Sentences

(a) Kriminalističko-tehničkata služba pronajde dva otisoci od prsti vo razbienata fioka, koi ne pripaǵaa na niedno lice što imalo legalen dopir. (Počinka 3 XI 73: 26)

'The criminological-technical department found two fingerprints on the broken drawer which didn't belong to anyone who had legal access [to it].'

(b) Bidejḱi vo Nikšiḱ ne se vrativ vo vremeto predvideno za vraḱanje, se proširile glasovi deka sum vo albanski zatvor. (N. M. 13 V 73: 4)

'Because I didn't return to Nikšić at the appointed time, the rumor spread that I was in an Albanian prison.'

(c) Mao prviot revolt izrazil tokmu sprema svojot tatko. Takov ostanal do krajot na životot: najčesto plivaše protiv strujata. (N. M. 10 IX 76: 1)

'It was against his father that Mao expressed his first revolt. He remained thus to the end of his life: most often he swam against the current.'

(d) UMRE MAO CE TUNG
—Smrtta na pretsedatelot na CK KP na Kina nastapila včera, deset minuti po polnoḱ, Pretsedatelot Mao Ce Tung umre deset minuti po polnok, (N. M. 10 IX 76: 1)

(headline) 'MAO TSE-TUNG DIED'
(sub-headline) '—The death of the chairman of the CC of the CP of China occurred yesterday, ten minutes after midnight, (article) Chairman Mao Tse-Tung died ten minutes after midnight,'

(e) Razgovarajḱi, ne zabeležav kolku sme se oddalečile od mestoto kade što se razdelivme so drugarkite. (Počinka 22 IX 73: 28)

'While conversing, I didn't notice how far we had gone from the place where we had parted with my girlfriends.'

(f) Bev kaj Zlatko. Napišal čovek komedija pa sakaše da mi ja pročita. (Osten 26 V 74: 9)

'I was at Zlatko's. The fellow wrote a comedy, and he wanted to read it to me.'

(g) Toj ja čital vašata statija, i mnogu pofalno se izrazi za nea.

He read your article and expressed a very favorable opinion about it. (Lunt 1952: 93)

(h) Minatata godina formiravme i združenie na ilegalcite koe vodeše evidencija za toa od koja soba nekoj se iselil... (Počinka 24 III 73: 6)

'Last year we even formed a crashers' union, which kept track of when someone moved out of a room...'

(i) Dodeka begaše preku bavčite i ogradite, nieden od sedumte kuršumi ne go pronajdoa negovoto telo. Zošto se odlučil Zeḱiri na zlostor? Pred toa odnosite na Redžepi i Zeḱiri bile dobri. (N. M. 23 X 72: 7)

(from the report of a court case; none of the events were witnessed by the writer of the report)
'While he ran through the gardens and fences, not one of the seven bullets found his body. Why did Zeḱiri decide to commit a crime? Before that, relations between Redžepi and Zeḱiri had been good.'

See also (2a), (17b), (33a), (54b), (89a-b), (105a), (109a,e), (134a–d), (142a), (150[b]a–d), (188a).

(71) Nonaffirmative 1s *Sum* Form

(a) Ne znam kako sum došol v crkva, kako sum psalil... (Koneski 1967: 478)

'I don't know how I came to the church, how I chanted...'

(b) Ne znaev kako sum go storil toa, no ne se somnevav...

'I didn't know how I had done it, but I had no doubt...'

(Arsova 1970: 110)

See also (131a–c), (153a–d).

(72–74) Ungrammatical sentences

(75–76) see (77), (142).

(77–78) 'Nonaffirmative' Simple

(a) Toj braneše vonredno, duri i ona što beše nevozmožno da se odbrani.

(N. M. 6 X 75: 10)

'He defended extraordinarily, even that which could not be defended.'

(b) Neverojatno e kako Dilev uspea da gi odbrani udarite...

(N. M. 10 V 76: 11)

'It's incredible how Dilev managed to defend against the kicks...'

(c) Ne veruvav deka sè što se prodavaa selanite se naoǵaše na zemja.

(N. M. 4 IX 74: 6)

'I didn't/couldn't believe that everything the peasants sold could be found in the earth.' (The author is marveling at the variety of the produce in the Kruševo market.)

(79–80) Diagrams

(81) Antiaffirmative *Sum* Form

(a) Mojot suprug ne e ubiec, se somnevam deka toj go izvršil zlostorstvoto, toj ne e sposoben za toa. (Počinka 7 X 72: 10)

'My spouse [husband] is not a murderer, I doubt that he committed the crime, he isn't capable of that.'

(82) Ungrammatical sentence

(83–84) Diagrams

(85) *Izgleda* + 1p Simplex Form

(a) Izgleda zgrešivme — na hipodrom sme! (N. M. 10 X 73: 4)

(one soccer fan to another) 'It appears we've made a mistake — we're at the race track!'

(86) *Izgleda* + 3s *Sum* Form

(a) Od Velšanite poveḱe očekuvavme no izgleda nim im se odmazdi defansivnata taktika. (N. M. 25 IV 76: 19)

'We were expecting more of the Welshmen, but it appears that their defensive tactics backfired.' (N. B. They had already lost the game.)

(b) Izgleda deka go zapameti Mužiniḱ koga vo prvoto poluvreme nevkusno protestiraše pa sega mu se odmazdi. (N. M. 25 IV 76: 9)

'It appears that he remembered how Mužiniḱ tastelessly protested during the first half, and now he was taking revenge.'

(88) *Mislam* + ls Simplex Form

(a) Mislam deka so toa odgovoriv na prašanjeto za mislenjeto na soprugata. (Počinka 4 XI 72: 17)

'I think that with this I have answered your question about what my spouse [wife] thinks.'

v. also (150[b]a)

(89) *Mislam* + 3sp *Sum* Forms

(a) Docnite, mislev deka se slučilo nešto. (Poočinka 24 XI 73: 27)

'You're late, I though something had happened.'

(b) Mislam deka Bob pretpostavuval oti tie imaat nešto ovde, nekakva operacija za sobiranje na informacii, na koj što raboteše Lidi. (N. M. 16 VI 74: 5)

'I think Bob was assuming that they had something [that was proper] over there, some intelligence operation that Liddy was operating.' (W. H. 137)

(c) Mislam deka ne go predupredile na nezakonosta. (N. M. 15 VI 74: 5)

'I don't think they were discounting the illegal points.' (W. H. 136–37)

(d) Mislam deka vo analite na sudot nemalo svirepo ubistvo vo tuǵ stan. (N. M. 17 V 73: 7)

'I think that in the annals of the court there hasn't been a brutal murder in a stranger's apartment.'

(90) *Mislam* + 3sp Simplex Forms

(a) Mislam deka nemaše ništo osobeno vo nivnata vrska. (Počinka 9 VI 73: 12)

'I don't think that there was anything special in their relationship.'

(b) Mislam deka seta rabota beše važna poradi izborite... (N. M. 24 VI 74: 5)

'I think that all this business was important because of the elections.' (based on W. H. 456)

(c) Toj često mi noseše svoi prijateli i im dozvoluvaše da spijat so mene. Mislam deka za toa zemaše pari. (Počinka 22 IX 73: 29)

'He often brought his friends to me and let them sleep with me. I think he took money for that.'

(d) Mislam deka me udrija, što jas znam!

(Informant reminiscing about a childhood incident) 'I think they hit me, I dunno!'

(91–94) Other Deductives + Simplex and *Sum* Forms

(a) Znači, ja završivte završnata smetka. (Osten 4 XI 73: 8)

(to a man boarding up a building) 'So then you've finished the final accounting.'

(b) Očigledno toa za Lidija beše neočekuvan presvrt. Koga gi ču zborovite na carinicite, preblede kako krpa. (Počinka 8 XII 73: 27)

'Evidently this was an unexpected turn of events for Lidija. When she heard the words of the customs agents she turned white as a sheet.'

(c) Nikson ostavi vpečatok so govorot deka od Belata kuḱa si odi poveḱe kako žrtva na pritisocite od Kongresot otkolku na sopstvena vina – što, očigledno, predizvika i negativna reakcija meǵu kongresmenite. (N. M. 10 VIII 74: 1)

'Nixon left the impression with his speech that he was leaving the White House as a victim of pressure from Congress rather than due to his own guilt — which, evidently, also produced a negative reaction among congressmen.'

(d) Tie vreminja, mi se čini, minaa brzo. (Počinka 26 X 74: 27)

'Those times, it seems to me, passed quickly.'

(e) Mojot prijatel kupi tapeti koi imitiraat biblioteka. Mi se čini deka ovoj pat jas go namudriv... (N. M. 23 V 76: 7)

(cartoon of a man painting his walls to look like a giant computer) 'My friend bought wallpaper that imitates a library. It seems to me that this time I've outsmarted him...'

(f) "Jas, lično", — odgovori Giniḱ — "jas, lično go imam apseno najmalku desetina pati. Narednikot Crna Sabota mu go ima najmalku petnaesetina pati praveno grbot kako mevot! I pak istoto! Kamenot ako razbira ḱotek i Mindzurḱe razbere!"
"Znači, ste go apsele?" — prašav jas. (Čašule 1976: 12)

'"I, personally," answered Giniḱ, "I personally have arrested him at least ten times. Sergeant Black Saturday has beaten him black and blue at least fifteen times! And again the same thing! If a stone understands a beating then so will Mindzur!"
"So then, you have arrested him?" I asked.'

(g) Pa sepak, očigledno e deka vo posledno vreme Albanija rešila da ja prekine isolacijata. (N. M. 24 V 73: 4)

'Nevertheless, it is evident that recently Albania has decided to discontinue its isolation.'

(h) Tie očigledno imale nekoj plan, pretpostavuvam, koj imal razni celi. (N. M. 16 VI 74: 5)

'So they had some plan that obviously had, I gather, different targets [they were going after].' (W. H. 138)

(i) Možam samo da pretpostavuvam, poradi svoeto prijatelvstvo so Hant, deka toj mošne dobro znael za što zboruva. (N. M. 15 VI 74: 5)

'I can only assume (Mac. 'suppose'), because of his close relationship with Hunt, that he had a damn good idea (Mac. 'knew very well') what they were talking about.' (W. H. 137)

See also (62b), (109a–c)

(95–97) see (68).

(98–99) Nonreported *l*-imperfect

(a) E, dosta sme rabotele.

(two old men talking on a bus in Skopje) 'Eh, we've worked enough.'

(b) Prašaj gi onie, koi slušale, što sum zboruval, tie znaat što sum govorel. (Noviot Zavet p. 253 [John 18:21])

'Ask them which heard me, what I have said [unto them: behold], they know what I said.'

(c) Ednostavno sum sakal samo da im pomognam, od sebap, a ne za pari. (N. M. 28 II 73: 9)

'I simply wanted only to help them, as a good deed and not for money.'

(d) Drugpat sum ti pravel, ama si naračuval i golemi. (Krle 1972: 57)

'Formerly I made [shoes] for you, but then you ordered big ones, too.'

(e) Ne sum te lažel, vrapčence! Kaj beše mojata prva ljubov. (Počinka 28 XII 74: 21)

'I didn't lie to you my little sparrow! Kay was my first love.'

(f) Sum bil mlad kako tebe. Sum sakal silno isto taka. Sepak, ne sum dozvoluval ljubovta da me zaslepi. (Počinka 29 IX 73: 26)

'I was young like you. I, too, loved strongly. But, I never let love blind me.'

(g) Slatko majče le; nikoga ne sum te molela kako sega za ova! (Koneski 1967: 465)

'O sweet mother; never have I begged you as [I do] now for this!'

(h) Neka znaat kako sme se mačele. (Koneski 1967: 467)

'Let them know how hard we've tried.'

(i) Ne si bil odamna kaj mene. (Koneski 1967: 467)

'You haven't been to my place for a long time.'

See also (100a–f).

(100–1) Nonresultative *Sum* Form

(a) Jas bev, no ne sum znaela.

(Author's landlady talking on the telephone) 'I was [there last night], but I didn't know [you were there].'

(b) Ne sum znael tvojata adresa.

(Božo Vidoeski to Tome Sazdov) 'I didn't know your address.'

(c) Toa ne sum go znaela, ama eve gledam deka može da gori. (Krle 1972: 251)

'I didn't know it, but, here, I see that it can burn.'

(d) ... a za dejstvoto na oddelni drogi se znaelo vo Kina 3.000 godini pred našata era. (Počinka 23 XI 74: 5)

'... and the effects of certain drugs were known in China 3,000 years before our era.'

(e) Jas sum stanal tokmu vo dva časot noḱeska.

'I got up at exactly two last night.' (Lunt 1952: 96)

(f) Ne sum znael deka na vlezot vo Negotino počnale da gradat metro. (Osten 17 III 74: 10)

'I didn't know that they'd started to build a subway at the entrance to Negotino.'

See also (68c–d), (102a–i).

(102–4) Definite *Sum* Form

(a) Bafalo Bil bil izbran kako eden od vistinskite poni ekspress javači vo 1860 god. na 14 godina vozrast! (N. M. 19 X 73: 11)

'Buffalo Bill was chosen as one of the original pony express riders in 1860 at the age of 14.'

(b) Vo seloto Bučim, Radoviško, na 20 septemvri 1972 godina se slučila morbidna drama. (Počinka 23 XII 72: 10)

'In the village of Bučim, in the Radoviš region, on September 20, 1972, a morbid drama occurred.'

(c) Slika od pariskite ulici za vreme na kolerata što pustošela vo 1813 godina. (Počinka 8 IX 73: 14)

'A picture of the streets of Paris during the cholera [epidemic] which raged in 1813.'

(d) Na 11 april 1972 godina okolu 20,30 časot Jordan povtorno došol pod prozorecot na Dunavka so namera da go "smekne" nejzinoto srce. (Počinka 4 V 74: 20)

'On April 11, 1972 at around 10:30 p.m. Jordan again came under Dunavka's window with the intention of softening her heart.'

(e) Vo 1709 godina zakupecot na danokot vo Prilep Kadi-Zade Mustafa se zadružil so aramiite i preku niv vršel pritisok za da go naplati danokot i gi napaǵal selanite. (Apostolski 1969, 1: 290)

'In 1709 the Prilep tax-collector Cadi-Zade Mustafa joined up with the bandits and through them exerted pressure for tax payments and attacked the peasants.'

(f) Vo 1968 godina, vo soobraḱajna nesreḱa, zaginala devojkata S. N. sestra na Hajrija Ajvazi. (Počinka 20 I 73: 10)

'In 1968, in a traffic accident, the girl S. N., sister of Hajrija Ajvazi perished.'

(g) Vo 1779 godina samiot rumelski beglerbeg trgnal protiv družinata na Suljo Starova. (Apostolski 1969, 1: 290)

'In 1779 the governor-general of Rumelia himself set out against Suljo Starova's band.'

(h) Eve zošto, vo 19,55 časot izlegol od doma, a okolu 20,05 časot zavrnal silniot dožd. (Počinka 3 XI 73: 26)

'This is why, at 7:55 p.m. he went out of the house, and around 10:05 p.m. it began to rain hard.'

(i) ... David, Mojsej, Aron i Samuil, sinovi na komesot Nikola, koi so pomoš od bogomilite uspeale da krenat vostanie vo 969 godina i da ja oslobodat Makedonija od jaremot na turano-bugarskoto gospodstvo (N. M. 25 IV 76: 11)

'... David, Mojsej, Aron and Samuil, sons of Count Nikola, who with the help of the Bogomils succeeded in raising a rebellion in 969 and in freeing Macedonia from the yoke of Turano-Bulgarian rule.'

See also (68d), (100d–e).

(105–6) Witnessed *Sum* Form

(a) Koga bev pomal, mnogu sakav da se tepam so kamenja i da im gi dupam glavite na drugarite, ama koga mi ja dupnaa tie mene vidov kako bolelo i ottogaš prestanav da se tepam. (Krle 1972: 207)

'When I was younger, I very much liked to fight with rocks and to bash my playmates' heads, but when they bashed me I saw that it hurt, and after that I stopped fighting.'

(b) —A vidi go onoj što se razmavtal so racete!
—Go gledam, pa što! (Osten 2 XII 73: 8)

'"And look at that one who was/is waving his hands!"
"I see him, so what!"'

(c) Gledame deka ste se orientirale na metalni stari pari, a malku imate knižni. (Počinka 26 X 74: 20)

(interview with a numismatist at his home) 'We see that you have directed yourself towards metal money, but you have very little paper money.'

(d) Sega gledam deka bile pošereti. (Krle 1972: 45)

'Now I see that they were more rascally.'

See also (152a–i), (188).

(107–8) Confirmative *Sum* Form

(a) . . . i tie znaat deka vie ne ste imale nikakvi (ispuštena pridavka) vrski so kampanja[ta]. (N. M. 19 VI 74: 5)

'. . . and they know you didn't have a (adjective deleted) thing to do with the campaign.' (W. H. 92)

(b) Agentite na FBI dojdoa vo Belata kuḱa, zašto ustanovija deka uapsenite imale vrska so nea. (N. M. 19 VI 74: 5)

'The FBI agents came to the White House because they had established that those arrested were connected with it.'

(c) A kako potkrepa na vakvata konstatacija može da posluži edna beleška objavena neodamna vo "Zeri i popullit" za pojavata na masovno sunetisuvanje vo Šijak i vo opštinata na Rogožina, vo blizina na Šijak. Kulminacijata na akcijata na sunetisuvanjeto bila vo seloto Cikaleš. . . (N. M. 27 XII 73: 3)

'A note published recently in "Zëri i popullit" on the occurrence of a mass Moslem circumcision ceremony in Shiak and in the district of Rogozhina, in the vicinity of Shiak, can serve as a confirmation of such an assertion. The culmination of the ceremony was in the village of Cikalesh. . .'

(d) Bev uveren deka sum pobedil. (N. M. 26 VII 76: 11)

'I was convinved I had won.'

(e) Toj go stori toa minatiot oktomvri otkako beše otkrieno deka prikril da plati danok. (N. M. 10 VII 74: 1)

'He did this last October when it was discovered that he had evaded payment of taxes.'

(f) Možam da vi rečam deka sum uveren deka Kolson i drugite go napravile najdobroto što možele za da dojdat do informacii. No, tie mošne dobro znaele, deka moraat da pridružuvaat do zakonot. Vo toa nema somnenie! (N. M. 17 VI 74: 5)

'Let me say I am keenly aware of the fact that Colson, et al., were doing their best to get information... But they all knew very well they were supposed to comply with the law. There was no question about that!' (W. H. 152)

(g) Znam deka ništo ne sum storil za da otskoknam vo životot i deka samo srećata me ima podignato; toa e da si srećen.

'I know that I have done nothing to raise myself in life, and that Fortune alone has raised me; that is being very lucky.' (Arsova 1973: 171)

(h) Neposrednata i tehnička pričina za vakviot stav na ugledniot komentator beše najnovata misterija so onie tajni magnetofonski lenti od Belata kuḱa za koi se utvrdi deka pretsedatelot veḱe rešil sepak da mu gi predade na sudot, deka nedostignat dve, i toa izgleda najznačajnite. (N. M. 8 XI 73: 5)

'The immediate and technical reason for this stance [on the part] of the respected commentator was the newest mystery with those secret tapes from the White House, which, it was confirmed, the president had already decided to turn over to the court, viz. two were missing, apparently the most significant ones at that.'

(i) Za Magruder znam deka svedočel lažno... (N. M. 16 VI 74: 5)

'I know that Magruder has perjured himself...' (W. H. 134)

(j) ... bugarskite istoričari, soočeni so faktot deka toa se javilo vo Makedonija vo vremeto na bugarskoto vladeenje, (N. M. 25 IV 76: 11)

'... the Bulgarian historians, confronted with the fact that this appeared in Macedonia at the time of Bulgarian rule,'

See also (114a–f).

(109–11) Nonreported *Sum* Form

(a) Možebi Vinko pretčuvstvuvaše deka e sleden, a od toa što se slučaše ocenivme deka Vinko ja zagubil glavata... (Počinka 28 IX 74: 26)

'Perhaps Vinko sensed that he was being followed, and from what happened we figured that Vinko lost his head...'

(b) Znači preživeala taa podivena mačka! (Počinka 28 IX 74: 27)

'So then that wild cat survived!'

(c) Ovaa suma pri pretresot na sè što beše na nego ne e pronajdena, a najverojatno e deka ja imal kaj sebe. (Počinka 3 XI 73: 26)

'In the investigation of everything that was on him, this sum was not found, but it is most likely that he had it on his person.'

(d) Nemal vakov adet! Ovo dosega ne go ima storeno! (Krle 1972: 90)

(a father referring to not having heard from his son in America) 'He didn't have such a habit/custom [i.e., It's not like him]! Until now he hasn't done this!'

(e) Boško ne beše vnatre. Izbegal. (N. M. 11 IV 72: 8)

'Boško wasn't inside. He had run away.'

(f) Pak si bil so goltavačka na ogin!? (N. M. 28 XII 72: 14)

(cartoon of an irate woman circus performer addressing her rather charred looking husband) 'You've been with the lady fire eater again!?'

(g) Amerikanskiot potpretsedatel Džerald Ford izjavi deka pretsedatelot Nikson "napravil edna od najgolemite lični žrtvi", podnesuvajḱi ostavka na funkcijata pretsedatel na SAD. (N. M. 10 VIII 74: 1)

'American vice-president Gerald Ford announced that president Nixon "made one of the greatest personal sacrifices" by resigning from the office of president of the U.S.A.'

See also (54b), (91a–i).

(112–13) see (100).

(114–15) *Sum* Forms in Official Confirmations, etc.

(a) Prijavil prestojuvalište-živealište, odjavil živealište vo ______________.
(Hotel Registration Form No. 11)

'Has declared place of sojourn-residence, has announced residence in ________________.'

(b) Od germanski prevela Ranka Grčeva. (N. M. 15 VII 75: 14)

'Ranka Grčeva has translated from the German' (more idiomatically: Translated from the German by Ranka Grčeva).

(c) Sostavile: B. Koneski i O. Jašar-Nasteva
(Koneski and Jašar-Nasteva 1966: title page).

'Compiled by Koneski and O. Jašar-Nasteva.'

(d) Priredil: Vladimir Mošin. (Mošin 1954: title page)

'Prepared by Vladimir Mošin.'

(e) Snimil: T. Dimovski. (Počinka 4 V 74: 4)

(photo credit) 'Taken by T. Dimovski.'

(f) Ispratil: N. Nikov. (Osten August 1976: 32)

(Article credit) 'Sent by N. Nikov.'

(116) see (134).

(117–24) Non-Macedonian examples

(125) Nonreported Indirect Speech

(a) Mu rekov deka se slučija nekoi promeni, deka seta rabota ja pretresovme so pretsedatelot… (N. M. 23 VI 74: 5)

'I started out by saying now there have been some new developments and we have reviewed this whole thing with the President…'
(W. H. 341)

(b) Mu rekov deka ja završiv istragata… (N. M. 23 VI 74: 5)

'I told him that I had finished the investigation…'
(based on W. H. 346)

(c) Mu rekov na Pretsedatelot deka bev kaj islednicite, (N. M. 25 VI 74: 5)

'I told the President that I had been to the investigators,'

(d) Vi blagodaram za site ovie izvestuvanja i ozboruvanja, no vi velam deka ste svrtele pogrešen broj! (N. M. 21 I 76: 12)

'Thank you for all this information and gossip, but I'm telling you you've dialed the wrong number!'

(e) Rekov deka spiev celo popladne. (Počinka 24 XI 73: 27)

'I said that I slept all afternoon.'

See also (55b), (107f), (146b–c).

(126) Reported Speech Not Morphologically Marked as Indirect

(a) Segašnata voda gi zadovoluvaše nekogašnite potrebi na gradot, koga beše i bez industrija i bez novi i golemi hoteli i bez turisti, mi objasnuvaše Boris Nikolovski, pretsedatel na Izvršniot sovet na Sobranieto vo Kruševo. (N. M. 4 IX 74: 6)

'The current water supply satisfied the earlier needs of the town, when it was smaller and without industry and without new and large hotels and without tourists, Boris Nikolovski, president of Executive Council of the Assembly of Kruševo, explained to me.'

(b) Zad obvinuvanjeto na Vatikan, kako što pišuva partiskiot vesnik "Zeri i popullit", se naoǵaše planot da se mobiliziraat emigrantskite albanski grupacii vo Kanada, Soedinetite Amerikanski Države i Avstralija vo nova meǵunarodna kampanja protiv segašniot albanski režim. (N. M. 6 XII 73: 5)

Behind the accusation of the Vatican, writes the party newspaper "Zëri i popullit," was to be found the plan to mobilize Albanian emigré groups in Canada, the United States of America and Australia in a new international campaign against the current Albanian regime.'

See also (146a).

(127–30) Non-Macedonian examples

(131) Reported 1s *Sum* Form

(a) Pred izvesno vreme Mickovski me dade na sud, navodno deka sum go napadnal. (Počinka 4 V 74: 21)

'A little while ago Mickovski filed suit against me, alleging that I attacked him.'

(b) ... naučiv deka vo moeto brzanje sum go... ispuštil pismoto...

'... I learnt that I had in my hurry dropped the letter... (Arsova 1970: 101–2)

(c) H — Mi reče deka jas sum mu rekol da napravi sè što sovetuvaat advokatite, deka ne možam jas ništo da mu sovetuvam.
P — Dali toa e vistina?
H — Da. (N. M. 23 VI 74: 5)

'H: "He told me that I had told him to do everything the lawyers advised, that I couldn't advise him."
P: "Is that true?"
H: "Yes."' (based on W. H. 341–42)

See also (153a–d).

(132–33) Reported Present Tense

(a) Togaš site moi drugarki se falea deka imaat "tipovi" i sekojdnevno raskažuvaa za doživuvanja i avanturi. (Počinka 22 IX 73: 28)

'Then all my girlfriends were bragging that they had "guys" and daily recounted their experiences and exploits.'

(b) Toj mi reče deka se vika Toni i poleka me pregrna. Pritoa mi zboruvaše deka imam ubavo telo i deka sum najubava od site drugarki. (Počinka 22 IX 73: 28)

'He told me that his name was Tony and slowly put his arm around me. In addition he kept saying that I had a beautiful body and that I was the most beautiful of all my girlfriends.'

(c) Krog zboruvaše deka Lidi e ǵavolski dobar čovek, ne samo dobar advokat, i deka toj e čovek što može da go napravi toa.
(N. M. 15 VI 74: 5)

'So the report that I got from Krogh was that he [Liddy] was a hell of a good man and not only that a good lawyer and could set up a proper operation.' (W. H. 135)

(d) Mara postojano mu se žalela na Nikola deka soprugot ja tepa, maltretira, deka so nego poveḱe ne može da živee.
(Počinka 18 XI 72: 10)

'Mara constantly complained to Nikola that her husband beat her, abused her, that she couldn't live with him anymore.'

(e) ... mi velea deka "aram" leb jadam vo kuḱata. (Počinka 22 IX 73: 29)

'... they kept telling me that I was eating "cursed" bread at home.'

(f) — Pero, ti li mu reče na direktorot deka jas sum magare?
— A, ne. Jas mu rekov deka si konj, a deka si magare veḱe znaeše.
(Osten 16 VI 74: 15)

'"Pero, was it you who told the director that I was/am an ass?"
"Oh, no. I told him you're a horse, he already knew you were/are an ass."'

(g) Postojano veleše deka ne znae koga ḱe prestane da raboti negovoto slabo srce. (Počinka 20 X 73: 27)

'He was constantly saying that he didn't know when his weak heart would stop working.'

(h) Tokmu kako što sakaše, ili barem reče deka saka.
(Počinka 28 XII 74: 20)

'Just as she wanted, or at least said that she wanted.'

(i) Vpročem, rekovte deka i jas sum vinovna. (Počinka 8 XII 73: 27)

'Besides, you said that I'm guilty, too.'

(j) Ne mi rekol deka se plaši od nešto. (Počinka 20 X 73: 27)

'He didn't tell me that he was afraid of something.'

See also (40b), (150[b]a,c), (154a).

(134) Shifted Tense in Reported Speech

(a) Vo 20 časot dežurniot milicioner najavi poseta. Nekoj graǵanin baraše da razgovara so inspektorot...
— Čovekot ne si odi. Moli da go primite. Imal nešto važno da vi kaže. Ve baral i doma. (Počinka 17 XI 73: 26)

At 10:00 p.m. the policeman on duty announced a visit[or]. Some citizen sought to speak with the inspector...
"The man won't go away. [He said] he has something important to tell you. He tried to get a hold of you at home, too."'

(b) Navistina, bugarskata vojska sreḱavaše i partzanski edinici, no tie bile bosi i goli a samo sekoj tret imal puška. (N. M. 27 II 76: 5)

'Indeed, the Bulgarian army did also meet partisan units, but [they said] they were barefoot and naked and only every third had a gun.'

(c) Gavranot stoeše na granče. Vo ustata imaše parče meso. Lisa me reče:
— Ti si mnogu ličen. A čuv: mnogu glasno si peel. (Ivanovski 1973a: 28)

'The raven was standing on a branch. In his mouth he had a piece of meat. Fox said to him:
"You are very handsome. And I've heard: [they said] you also sing very clearly."'

(d) No malu po malu započnaa razgovor i taa razbra oti toj bil od Prilep, oti imal majka, pòmal brat i dve sestri, deka go gonela policijata kako antifašist i deka sakal da odi v planina da se bori protiv okupatorite. (Koneski 1967: 479)

'But little by little they began a conversation and she learned that [he said] he was from Prilep, that he had a mother, a younger brother, and two sisters, that the police were after him being an antifascist and that he wanted to go to the mountains to fight the occupiers.'

(e) — Ajde, spremi gi decata i taka sakam da izlezam malku na čist vozduh.
— Vidi, vidi go umniot. Toj sakal čist vozduh a jas ne sakam. (Osten 9 VI 74: 9)

'"C'mon, get the children ready; so I want to get a little fresh air."
"Look at the wise guy. [He said] he wants fresh air, and [I suppose] I don't want [it]."'

(f) — Dali ste čule edno ime na edno selo... Kuškundaleo?
— Ne sme čule, čestiti care, ne sme čule takvo ime.
— Ete, momče, kako nemalo takvo ime... (Koneski 1967: 480–81)

'"Have you heard the name of a village... Kuškundaleo?"
"No we haven't, Your Majesty, we haven't heard such a name."
"There, lad, [they said] there is no such name..."'

(g) Cvetkana mi reče deka so decata se gotvite za pat do Turcija kade soobraќajot bil haotičen. (Počinka 6 VII 74: 32)

'Cvetkana told me you're getting ready to go with the children to Turkey, where [she said] the traffic was/is chaotic.'

(h) Paltoto li? Go zema Amerikanecot. Veli—negovo bilo. (Osten September 1976: 38)

'The coat? The American took it. He said it was his.' (The coat did not belong to the American. Perhaps this example should be classed as a dubitative.)

See also (152[b]b), (152a–i), (153a–h).

(135) ***Ќe Reče*** **+ Present**

(a) Koga ќe diplomiram ќe vi rečam deka sum poveќe od zadovolen. (Počinka 4 XI 72: 17)

'When I graduate, I will tell you that I am more than satisfied.'

(b) Veruvam deka nema tatko koj ќe reče deka e loš roditel. (Počinka 4 XI 72: 17)

'I believe there isn't a father who will say that he's a bad parent.'

(136) Ungrammatical sentence

(137) see (134).

(138) Non-Macedonian example

(139–41) Ungrammatical sentences

(142–45) *Reče* + Simplex Form

(a) Reče deka imaše namera da begaš vo stranstvo za da se oslobodiš od Violeta za toa što te ucenuvala, a kako ḱe go objasniš faktot deka istovremeno ti imaše odluka da ja ubieš i da pobegneš vo stranstvo?! (Počinka 28 IX 74: 27)

'You said that you had the intention of fleeing abroad in order to free yourself from Violeta because she was blackmailing you, but how will you explain the fact that at the same time you had decided to kill her and flee abroad?!'

(b) Rekovte deka roditelite vi prečea da sklučite brak so Slavko i deka zatoa brakot e skličen samo pred dve nedeli? [cf. Rekovte deka Slavko mnogu ve cenel?] (Počinka 27 X 73: 27 [and 3 XI 73: 26])

'You said that your parents prevented your marriage to Slavko and that's why you got married only two weeks ago?' (cf. You said that Slavko thought a great deal of you?)

(146–48) Verb of Reporting + Simplex Form as Semi-Indirect

(a) Meǵutoa dodeka oficialnite lica na crkvata, kako što veli D. Angelov, počnaa od crkvenite anvoni da propovedaat deka bugarskiot vladetel e božji pretstavnik na zemjata... bogomilite... "gi napaǵaa bogatite..." (N. M. 25 IV 76: 11)

'However, while the officials of the church, as D. Angelov says, began to preach from the pulpits that the Bulgarian ruler was God's representative on earth... the Bogomils... "attacked the rich..."' (N. B. the ellipses comprise a long list of similar actions, and the entire example constitutes a single sentence.)

(b) Sakam vie so nego da imate ostar razgovor i da mu kažete deka za sè razmislivme i deka zaklučivme oti ne može da stane zbor za izvršni sednici. (N. M. 10 VI 74: 5)

'So you see, I think you better have a good, hard face to face talk with him and say look, we have thought this think over. And you raise the point with him that this cannot be in executive session.' (W. H. 70)

(c) I nemojte da rečete posle deka ne ve predupreдiv! (Čašule 1976: 12)

'And don't say afterwards that I didn't warn you!'

(d) "nova serija bugarski apsurdi"
KAKO JA OSLOBODUVAVME JUGOSLAVIJA
Vo Makedonija i Srbija, se tvrdi vo novata serija "istoriski" knigi za Makedonija, bugarskite vojnici ja urivaa legendata za nepobedivosta [sic] na germancite i so svoeto erojstvo stanuvaa legenda za mesnoto naselenie. (N. M. 27 II 76: 5)

(above headline in small bold print) '"a new series of Bulgarian absurdities"'
(headline) 'HOW WE FREED YUGOSLAVIA'
(caption to headline) 'In Macedonia and Serbia, it is claimed in the new series of "historical" books about Macedonia, Bulgarian soldiers destroyed the legend of the invincibility of the Germans and by their heroism became a legend for the local population.'

(e) Nikson, od druga strana, prodolžuva vesnikot, protiv svojata volja i so teško srce prifata da se povleče od Vietnam. "Toj dokraj ostana varvarin i dokraj nastojuvaše so varvarstvo da ja dobie vojnata." (N. M. 6 II 73: 5)

'Nixon, on the other hand, continued the newspaper, agreed to withdraw from Vietnam against his will and with a heavy heart. "He remained a barbarian until the end, and until the end he tried to win the war with barbarity."'

See also (125a), (150[b]b).

(149) Noncrucial example

(150[a]) see (142), (146).

(150[b]) Shifted Tense with Verb of Reporting

(a) Grej reče deka misli oti Džon Din go lažel FBI koga rekol deka [ne] e siguren dali ima Hant biro vo Belata kuḱa. (N. M. 19 VI 74: 5)

'He (Gray) said yes he thinks John Dean did lie to the FBI when he said he wasn't sure whether Howard Hunt had an office in the White House. (W. H. 195)

(b) Izostanocite, rečisi, bea samo zaradi toa što učenikot "čekal poveḱe od polovina čas avtobus", "prepolnetiot avtobus ne zastanal na stanicata da go zeme", "bilo lošo vreme"... (Počinka 16 XI 74: 6)

'The absences were almost always because "he waited more than half an hour for a bus," "the overloaded bus didn't stop at the bus stop to take him on," "the weather was bad"...'

(c) Se seḱavam, vo ponedelnikot večerta me razbudi i mi reče deka nadvor go vikal Vasil i go molel da igrat karti, no Jovan mu rekol deka ne saka da igra zašto saka da bide so semejstvoto. (Počinka 7 X 72: 11)

'I remember, last Monday evening he woke me up and told me that outside Vasil had called to him and asked him to play cards, but Jovan told him that he didn't want to play because he wanted to be with his family.'

(d) Nikson izjavi deka ja zagubil osnovnata važna poddrška i poradi toa ne mu ostanuva ništo drugo, kako što reče toj, da gi stavi interesite na nacijata nad svoite interesi. (N. M. 10 VIII 74: 1)

'Nixon announced that he had lost the basic important support and therefore there was nothing left for him, as he said, but to put the nation's interests before his own interests.'

(150[c]) Ungrammatical sentence

(151) Witness's Report

(a) Na desetina kilometri od Titov Veles, na patot kon Ǵevǵelija popladnevo se sluči teška soobraḱajna nesreka... Nesreḱata se slučila, spored izjavata na nekoi očevidci, koga belgiskoto vozilo "Reno 12" preteknuvalo i direktno udrilo vo tovarnoto vozilo "FAP" sopstvenost na "Hidrant" od Kruševo. (N. M. 12 VI 75: 7)

'A serious traffic accident occurred this afternoon some ten kilometers from Titov Veles on the road to Ǵevǵelija... The accident occurred, according to the report of several witnesses, when the Belgian "Renault 12" was passing and ran head-on into the "FAP" truck, which was the property of the Kruševo firm "Hidrant."'

(152) Admirative

(a) MITRE (go potkreva kuferčeto): More što bilo teško! Što para, adžiba, ima doneseno?! (Saka da go otvori). Zaklučen bil. (Krle 1972: 98)

'MITRE (lifts the trunk a bit): Wow, that's heavy! I wonder what money he's brought. (He tries to open it). It's locked.'

(b) — No jas ne sum doktor po stomačni bolesti tuku doktor po filosofija.
— Po filosofija li? E, kakvi se bolesti nemalo po svetot!
(Osten 9 VI 74: 15)

'"But I'm not a doctor of gastric disorders, I'm a doctor of philosophy." "Of philosophy? My, what diseases there are (Mac. 'aren't') in the world!"'

(c) ... vidiš li što blagorodna duša imalo? (Krle 1972: 247)

(A young man has just consented to do something for the older speaker who refers to him as *dete* 'child' [neuter].) '... do you see what a noble soul he has?'

(d) Ama ti si bil igrač, ne znaev dosega.

'Why you're a dancer! I didn't know before.' (Lunt 1952: 97)

(e) A, ti si bil tuka!

'Oh, you're here.' (The author's neighbor, thinking no one is home, walks into the kitchen and finds him sitting there.)

(f) O, Hoki bilo!

'Oh, it's Hoki.' (A different neighbor, picking up a record which is lying face down on the table, is surprised to discover that it is by a popular Yugoslav recording star.)

(g) Gledaj, i tutun imala, bugarski, neli? (Konstantinov 1967: 29)

'Look, and it has tobacco in it, Bulgarian, isn't it?' (Baj Ganjo is examining a tobacco case, and he says this upon opening it.)

(h) KOTE: Nazdravje!... Oho, ho!... Na, zemi, ženo, napi se. Ubava bila. (Krle 1972: 27)

'KOTE: To your health!... Oho, ho!... Here, take, woman, drink up. It's fine!'

(i) Ládno bílo!

'(In my opinion) it is cold!' (The speaker takes a bottle of soft-drink out of the refrigerator to see if it is cold enough.) (Hendriks 1976: 224)

See also perhaps (105a–b), (109b, d), (134c), as well as Koneski 1949: 294, 1967: 473; Mazon 1936: 92, 180, 206, 314, 326; Topolińska 1975: 299; Usikova 1974: 113.

(153) Dubitative

(a) — E, trpev kolku što možev i ne možev, drugar sudija. Ama, ko mi dojde do nos, morav da iseknam...
— Sedi, mori roguške edna, čuti tula pokri se, pa uše imaš da se žališ... Jas sum ti došla do nos. A, ti pak do ovde, reče Cveta, ja krena rakata i pokaža so prstite nekade vo sredinata na čeloto. (N. M. 20 VIII 72: 7)

'"Eh, I stood as much as I could and more, Comrade Judge. But when I was full of her up to my nose, I had to blow it out..."
"Sit down, you witch, shut up and cover yourself, you'll be even sorrier... I've filled you up to the nose, eh? Well, I've had it with you up to here, said Cveta, putting her hand somewhere in the middle of her forehead."'

(b) Jas sum mu gi zel parite!

'So I am supposed to have taken the money from him!' (Lunt 1952: 97; also Koneski 1949: 294, 1967: 478; and cf. Hendriks 1976: 225)

(c) Nie sme trčale po nego, kako ne! (Koneski 1967: 478)

'We ran after him, sure!'

(d) Sum možel da mu spomožam! (Koneski 1967: 478)

'As if I could help him!'

(e) Tie ne ti spomožile! (Koneski 1949: 294)

‘They didn’t help you, indeed!’

(f) Toa bil leb! Crn kako ḱumur, tvrd kako kamen. Ne e ni za svinji...

‘That’s [supposed to be] bread! Black as coal, hard as a rock. It’s not even fit for pigs...’ (A waiter is speaking to a drunkard who is offering bread as payment) (Lunt 1952: 94)

(g) Bre! da siromasi ste bile ha, mu rekol čorbadžijata navreknato. (Koneski 1967: 481)

‘Hey! as if you’re poor, hah, the rich man said to him insultingly.’

(h) "Na devojčeto da ne mu se skrši ḱefot..." E gidi um ženski, de! "Bil star"! (Krle 1972: 172)

(Ristaḱi is talking to himself, angry that his sister does not want her daughter to marry the man he has chosen for her.) ‘"Don’t spoil the girl’s happiness..." Oh brother, a woman’s mind!... "He’s old"!’

(i) ANTICA (so molba): Ama, vujče, toj me spasi...
RISTAḰI: Psas!... Psas, kučko edna! Za tebe imalo zbor za da progovoriš! (Krle 1972: 121)

ANTICA: (pleading): ‘But, Uncle, he saved me...’
RISTAḰI: ‘Shut up, you little whelp! As if it’s for you to start speaking!’

See also (131a), (134b,e,h), (150[b]b).

(154) Nondubitative

(a) Pri toa dopisnikot ne propušta možnost da go napadne jazikot na koj se napišani Šapkarevite učebnici, kako jazik nebugarski, ili barem nedovolno bugarski, velejḱi deka toj jazik pretstavuva "čisto ohridsko narečie" koe spored nego, smrdi od arnautizam i grcizam! (Sazdov 1975: 22)

‘Along with that, the correspondent did not miss the chance to attack the language in which Šapkarev’s textbooks were written as un-Bulgarian, or at least insufficiently Bulgarian, saying that the language was "pure Ohrid dialect" which, according to him, stank [lit. stinks] of Arnautisms and Hellenisms!’

See also (146d).

(155–58) Non-Macedonian Examples

(159) *Ima* Form with Inanimate Subject

(a) Polnoḱta odamna imaše pominato. (Jačev 1973: 14)

'Midnight had passed a long time ago.'

(b) Vo svesta mu iskrsna košmarot od posledniot pat vo mačilnicata—a koga beše toa i kolku vreme ima izminato od togaš, Iljo ne znaeše. (Koneski 1967: 504)

'The nightmare of the last time in the torture chamber rose up before him—but Iljo didn't know when that was or how much time had passed since then.'

(c) Čudna dramatika se imaše vseleno vo dušata na stariot tuǵinec. (Jačev 1973: 14)

'A strange drama had settled in the soul of the old foreigner.'

(d) Tokmu zatoa stranskite jazici si go imaat najdeno vistinskoto mesto vo našiot vospitno-obrazoven sistem na site stepeni. (N. M. 22 II 76: 11)

'For precisely that reason foreign languages have found a true place in our educational system at all levels.'

(e) Ovde-onde vodenata struja go imaše izlokano bregot vo mal zaliv...

'Here and there the set of the current had worn down the bank into a little crook...' (Arsova 1970: 118)

(f) Vo toa vreme rekata nè imaše malku podignato, taka što moževme da gledame nad bregot.

'By that time the river had lifted us a little, so that we could see above the bank.' (Arsova 1970: 118)

See also (107g).

(160) *Ima* Form of Intransitive and Stative Verbs

(a) Sega nemam odeno bos.

(Informant during a conversation) 'Nowadays, I haven't been going barefoot.'

(b) Ne znam bidejḱi se nemam rešeno.

'I don't know for I have not made up my mind.' (Arsova 1973: 171)

(c) ... no nieden čovek nema ni odblisku tolku uspeano kolku jas.

'... but no man has done nigh as well as me.' (Arsova 1973: 171)

(d) Imam spieno kako top. (Kepeski and Pogačnik 1968: 187)

'I've slept like a log [Mac. 'cannon'].'

(e) Jas imam sleguvano mnogupati odovde. (Koneski 1953: 147)

'I have gone down from here many times.'

(f) Toj ima skršnuvano mnogupati od linijata. (Koneski 1953: 147)

'He has deviated many times from the line.'

(g) Znam nekoi luǵe koi ušte nemaat spieno vo krevet.

(Informant during a conversation) 'I know some people who still haven't slept in a bed.'

(h) Se ima slučano toa.

(Informant during a conversation) 'It has happened.'

See also (159a–b), (164a), (177a).

(161) see (180)

(162) Noncrucial example

(163) Ungrammatical sentence

(164–66) Typical *Ima* Forms

(a) Se ima školuvano vo rodno mesto i vo Ohrid. (Stojanovski and Bakevski 1969: 293)

'He has been schooled in his home town and in Ohrid.'

(b) Ovaa grupa postoi, rečisi edna godina i dosega vo gradot ima organizirano nekolku koncerti na koi se izveduvani borbeni i stari veleški pesni. (N. M. 1 III 76: 8)

'This group has existed for almost a year, and up until now it has organized several concerts in the city at which military and old Veles songs were performed.'

(c) "Jeni Hajat" ima postignato zabeležlivi rezultati. (N. M. 31 VII 75: 10)

'"Yeni Hayat" has achieved remarkable results.'

(d) Točno e toa deka jas primiv poklon od najbogatiot beg, a ništo jas nemam zboruvano so nego, go primiv zašto toj beše taka bleskav i ubav. (Počinka 26 X 74: 19)

'It's true that I accepted a gift from the richest bey, but I haven't talked with him, I accepted it because it was so shiny and beautiful.'

(e) Otkako otpatuva na odmor ne ja imam videno! (Počinka 28 IX 74: 26)

'Since she went on vacation I haven't seen her!'

(f) Mu imaat praveno maǵija. (Počinka 20 X 73: 28)

'They have bewitched him.'

(g) Na tuǵo zemjište imam izgradeno baraka. (N. M. 5 IV 74: 18)

'I have built a shack on someone else's land.'

(h) Mislam deka ja imame postaveno osnovata za natamošniot razvoj i sum siguren vo negovata natamošna celosna afirmacija. (N. M. 31 VIII 75: 10)

'I think that we have established the basis for further development, and I am confident in its further complete establishment.'

(i) Toj dosega ima uništeno 355 lisici, 7 volci, 20 divi svinji, 22 divi mački, 15 jazovci, i drug šteten diveč. (N. M. 27 II 76: 8)

'Up to now he has destroyed 355 foxes, 7 wolves, 20 wild boars, 22 wildcats, 15 badgers, and other harmful animals.'

(j) Najstariot čovek vo Amerika, koj ima nadživeano tri ženi, sedeše na edna mala sofa... (Počinka 12 IX 72: 31)

'The oldest man in America, who has outlived three wives, was sitting on a small sofa...'

See also (91f), (107g), (152a), (159a–d), (160a–h), (180a–d), (185a).

(167–74) Noncrucial examples

(175) Ungrammatical sentence

(176) Marked modal usage

(177–78) *Ima* Form with Present Relevance Different from English

(a) Znaeš kako se ima spaseno tatko mi vo vremeto na Vtorata svetska vojna?

(Informant during a conversation) 'Do you know how my father saved himself during the Second World War?'

(179) Non-Macedonian example

(180–84) *Ima* Form vs. *Sum* Form

(a) E, i deteto naše so um ima raboteno ama ne se znae što ḱe donese. (Krle 1972: 97)

(A father is talking about his son from whom he has not heard in twenty years.) 'Eh, and our child has worked hard, but we don't know what he'll bring.'

(b) Vujko mi go ima pišuvano za da se soglasam da go zemam Gzarka oti ne go sakam. (Krle 1972: 165)

(The heroine has deduced from the wording of the letter that it is a forgery.) 'My uncle wrote it so that I'd agree to marry Gzarka, because I don't like him.'

(c) Sigurno nekoja pastrma smrdena imaš doneseno i sakaš za nea da zemeš pari. (Krle 1972: 158)

'Surely you've brought me some stinking trout and want to get money for it.'

(d) Veruvaj mi koga ti velam. Trgovecot si ima igrano majtap so tebe. (Krle 1972: 246)

(The following statement is based purely on deduction within the context of the play.) 'Believe me when I tell you. The merchant has played a trick on you.'

See also (91f), (152a).

(185–86) *Ima* Form as Imperceptive

(a) RISTAḰI (stenkajḱi pod kolenoto na Ilija, koe mu go ima staveno na stomakot) (Krle 1972: 123)

(A struggle has just taken place on stage)
'RISTAḰI (groaning under Ilija's knee, which the latter has placed on his stomach)'

(187) *Beše* Pluperfect

(a) Vo sosem drug pravec baraše Gr. Prličev (iako vo 1868 godina beše odil vo Carigrad specijalno da uči bugarski pri Iv. Najdenov) (Koneski 1959: 38)

'Gr[igor] Prličev went in a completely different direction (although in 1868 he had gone to Constantinople to study Bulgarian under Iv[an] Najdenov).'

(b) ... kade što beše ležalo teloto Isusovo (Noviot Zavet p. 258 [John 20:12])

'... where the body of Jesus had lain'

(c) Ovaa pesna odamna ne bev ja slušal. (Krle 1972: 184)

'I hadn't heard this song for a long time.'

(d) Sega David verojatno veḱe go beše primil pismoto ì ne i odgovori, (Počinka 28 XII 74: 20)

'By now David had probably gotten the letter and he hadn't answered her,'

(e) No, jas bev počnal da ti ja kažuvam čaršijata? (Čašule 1976: 12)

'But, I had begun to show you the bazaar?'

(f) Tuku što bevme legnale, nekoj začuka na našata vrata. (Kepeski 1972: 97)

'We had just lain down, [when] someone knocked at the door.'

(g) Mnogu jasno deka ova iskažuvanje mu protivreči na toa što Šapkarev go beše iznesol kako svoe stanovište—za sozdavanje na "opšt jazik." (Koneski 1959: 58)

'It is very clear that this statement contradicts one that Šapkarev had made about his position—in favor of the creation of a "common language."

See also (48), (194a).

(188–90) *Sum* Form Used as Pluperfect

(a) No vidov deka sè što gledav, što trebaše da bide belo, bilo odamna i go izgubilo svojot sjaj, i beše ovenato i žolto.

'But I saw that everything within my view which ought to be white, had been white long ago, and had lost its lustre, and was faded and yellow.' (Arsova 1970: 103)

(b) Verojatno zabeležil deka im se dopaǵa na luǵeto ako im se nasmevnuva.

'He had probably discovered that people liked him when he smiled.' (Arsova 1970: 108)

(c) Se rešiv do go prašam Džou zašto voopšto me naučil da gi vikam tie naslikani karti džandari.

'I determined to ask Joe why he had ever taught me to call those picture-cards Jacks.' (Arsova 1970: 107)

(d) Nikogaš porano ne sum videla takva devojka.
'I'd never seen a girl like that before.' (Arsova 1970: 107)

See also (68e,i), (71b), (89a), (100f), (107e,h), (109e), (131b–c), (159b).

(191) Simplex Form Used as Pluperfect

(a) I mu raskažav za toa što ne go spomenav vo svoeto izlaganje.
'And I told him what I had not mentioned in my narrative.'
(Arsova 1970: 83)

(b) ... reče serioznata gospoǵa čij glas go slušnav samo ednaš...
'... observed the grave lady whose voice I had heard but once...'
(Arsova 1970: 82–83)

(c) Prodolživ, otkako se rakuvavme...
'I went on after we had shaken hands...' (Arsova 1970: 79)

(d) Otkoga i po vtor pat se napi, toj stana od klupata na koja sedeše...
'When he had drunk this second time, he rose from the bench on which he sat...' (Arsova 1970: 78)

(e) ... se svrtiv kon rabotata koja štokuku mi padna na um...
'... I turned off to a point that had just come into my mind...
(Arsova 1970: 76)

See also (68e), (107b), (125b–c), (142a), (187d).

(192) see (188).

(193) see (187).

(194) *Beše* Imperfect

(a) A koga voskresna od mrtvite, se setija učenicite Negovi deka za ova beše govorel... (Noviot Zavet p. 207 [John 2:22])
'When [therefore] he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that he said this [unto them]...'

See also (187c).

(195–97) see (188).

(198) see (196), (199).

(199) *Imaše* Perfect

(a) —Sledete go ovoj čovek, mu reče na kolegata koj za toa vreme veḱe gi imaše sredeno izveštaite od prethodniot den. (Počinka 8 XII 73: 26)

'"Follow that man, he said to his colleague, who at that time had already set the previous day's reports in order."'

(b) Ne se seḱavam dali ispraḱačot ja imaše staveno sopstvenata adresa. (Počinka 27 X 73: 26)

'I don't remember if the sender had put on his own address.'

(c) Nemav polneto ni 16 godini koga se oženiv. (Počinka 26 X 74: 27)

'I hadn't reached the age of 16 when I got married.'

(d) Čitatelot za koj govorevme minatata sabota vo katčevo, imaše napraveno—ako se seḱavame—i edna zabeleška vo vrska so glagolot izlaga (nekoj nešto, pravi izložba). (N. M. 27 XII 75: 9)

'The reader of whom we were speaking last Saturday in this corner had also made—if we remember—an observation in connection with the verb exhibit (someone something, makes an exhibition).'

(e) Bevme drugari od detstvoto, no odamna se nemavme videno. (Osten 9 VI 74: 8)

'We were childhood friends, but we hadn't seen each other for a long time.'

(f) Nikogaš ja nemaše videno taka crvena. (Jačev 73: 14)

'He had never seen it so red.'

(g) Jas dotogaš nemav videno bel čovek i ja prašav majka mi dali možam da odam do pristaništeto. (Počinka 12 IX 72: 31)

'Until then I hadn't seen a white person, and I asked my mother if I could go to the dock.'

(h) —Nemam tolku pari, rekov poveḱe za sebe, iako, vsušnost, imav podgotveno tri milioni za ovaa cel, (Počinka 17 XI 73: 27)

'"I don't have that much money," I said more for myself, although I actually had three million prepared for that goal,'

(i) Imav zaraboteno nekoj dinar. (Počinka 17 XI 73: 26)

'I had earned a fair amount of money.'

(j) Porano imav mnogu čitano i slušnato za Makedonija... (Večer Nedela 16 IX 72: 7)

'Earlier I had read and heard much about Macedonia...'

See also (55c), (159a, c, e–f).

(200) see (187).

(201) see (199).

(202–7) *Imal* Perfect

(a) Podocna i toa go porekna, a go potvrdi naodot na organite i sudiite—deka ubistvoto e izvršeno so smislena cel, za zadušuvanje na bračnite tajni i nedozvoluvanje Fikrija da go napušti, iako so nea nemal formirano zakonita bračna zaednica. (Počinka 22 IX 73: 11)

(reported narrative style, all items relating to the crime use *sum* forms, those relating to the trial use simplex forms, throughout the article) 'Later he retracted that, too, and he confirmed the finding of the court—that the murder was premeditated for the purpose of concealing marital secrets and of keeping Fikrija from leaving him, although he had not formed a legal marital union with her.'

(b) Vidi ti gi niv, tie si ja imale pogodeno rabotata i za beganje! (Koneski 1967: 506)

(Koneski classes this sentence as reported but gives no context) 'Look at them, [they say] they have even arranged the matter of their running away!'

(c) Petleto ja nemalo ni završeno svojata pesna koga doletal od nekoja strana orelot. (Ivanovski 1973a: 56)

(reported style of narrative, cf. (134c)) 'The rooster had not even finished his song when the eagle flew down from somewhere.'

(d) Imal pojdeno duri vo Slovenija. (Kepeski and Pogačnik 1968: 186)

(no context) 'He has even gone to Slovenia (they say).'

(e) Ímal zapáleno oǵnište, a na ogništevo ímal čérepna da péčit lep. (Vidoeski 1968: 92)

(folk tale in reported narrative style) 'He had lit the hearth, and in this here hearth he had a bread pan for baking bread.'

(f) Imala li rodeno ona porano ili toa ì e prvo? (Koneski 1967: 504)

(no context, question probably reflects tense forms being used or expected in conversation) 'Has she given birth before, or is this her first?'

(g) Osven pečatenive učebnici, Šapkarev, kako što soopštuva vo predgovorot kon čitankata od 1868 godina, imal sostaveno i nekoi drugi. (Koneski 1959: 52)

'Aside from these printed textbooks, Šapkarev, according to the preface of the 1868 reader, had compiled several others.' (The only evidence for the existence of these others is that preface, the rest of the sentence is comprised of a list of the titles of those others.)

See also (213a–b), (217a).

(208) Impersonal *Imal* Construction

(a) Na taj dól imálo jednó dŕvo prepéčeno da si proáǵav ljúdi. (Vidoeski 1962: 225, 287)

'There was a tree thrown across that ravine so people could cross.'

(b) Né je imálo odréǵeno škóla. (Vidoeski 1962: 225)

'A school hadn't been set up.'

(c) Imálo je pádneno i Túrci. (Vidoeski 1962: 225)

'There were Turks fallen, too.'

(209–10) Reported *Ima* Form

(a) Samo vo golemite sali raskažuvaat umornite glasnici/deka imaat videno nekade momče... (Panoska 1973: 72)

'Only in the big halls the tired messengers tell/that they have seen a boy somewhere...'

(211–12) Ungrammatical sentences

(213–16) 1st Person *Imal* Perfect

(a) Mi smo imále tépano tríes šínika, ništo né se je priználo. (Vidoeski 1962: 225)

(no context) 'We [had] threshed thirty šiniks (a measure of grain), nothing was acknowledged/admitted.'

(b) Ja su imál zëno pári od neǵo.

'[They say] I took (=borrowed) money from him.' (Hendriks 1976: 227)

(217) Deductive *Imal* Perfect

(a) Veruvam deka postoelo ednaš vreme koga tatko mi ne gi imal dignato racete od rabotite.

'I suppose there was a time once when my father had not given matters up (but if ever there was, the time is gone). (Arsova 1970: 109)

See also (202a–b).

(218) Noncrucial example

(219–25) Non-Macedonian examples

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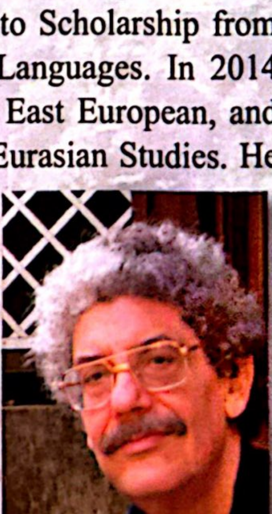
In terms of the morphosyntax, semantics, and pragmatics of its verbal system, Macedonian differs significantly from both Bulgarian and from Bosnian / Croatian / Montenegrin / Serbian (BCMS). Macedonian is closer to Bulgarian than to BCMS both in its preservation of the aorist/imperfect aspectual opposition and in its encoding of speaker attitude in the verb (a phenomenon sometimes labeled *evidential*). However, Macedonian has developed these and other categories —especially the resultative in *ima* — differently from Bulgarian, and Macedonian is thus an important and distinct part of the general Slavic and Balkan linguistic picture. This analysis of the Macedonian indicative system was the first book to be published in the North America about Modern Macedonian, and it was the first mophosyntactic and semantic analysis of Macedonian verbal categories. The framework is Jakobsonian, but with additional generativist analyses inspired by generative semantics. Almost 40 years later, the basic research has proven sound and the frameworks are still useful. This revised edition of the original 1977 book takes into account research published since the first edition and contains an new preface and an expanded bibliography as well as the original appendix of over 300 additional example sentences.

Victor A. Friedman revived his Ph.D. in 1975 from both the Slavic Department and the Linguistics Department at the University of Chicago. He taught at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, from 1975 to 1993, when he returned to Chicago. He is currently Andrew W. Mellon Distinguished Service Professor in the Humanities, with appointments in the Department of Linguistics and the Department of Anthropology (associate appointment) at the University of Chicago. He is also Director of the University of Chicago's Center for East European and Russian/Eurasian Studies, a National Resource Center, as well as president of the U.S. National Committee of the International Association for Southeast European Studies. Friedman is a member of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Academy of Sciences of Albania, the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Kosova Matica Srpska, and is an external member of the Department of Balkan Ethnology, Ethnographic Institute, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He has thrice been awarded the Golden Plaque from Sts. Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje, from which he has also received an honorary doctorate. During the Yugoslav Wars of Succession he worked for the United Nations as a senior policy and political analyst in Macedonia and consulted for other international organizations. In 2009 he received the Annual Award for Outstanding Contributions to Scholarship from the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages. In 2014 received the Annual Award for Distinguished Contributions to Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies from the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. He has held Guggenheim, Fulbright-Hays, ACLS, SSRC, IREX, NEH, APS and other fellowships and grants, and he has published extensively on all aspects of Balkan languages and linguistics as well as on Lak, Georgian, and other languages. He is currently finishing, with Brian D. Joseph, a book entitled *The Balkan Languages*, to be published by Cambridge University Press.



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